Amphiaraos into Attica: the Rise of Athenian Healing Cults

by
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Abstract

This dissertation, "Amphiaraos into Attica: The Rise of Athenian Healing Cults," uses epigraphic, literary, material, and visual evidence to examine the emergence of Attic healing sanctuaries. Rooted in social history, the project explores how Athenians represented and negotiated their collective needs through alterations in the religious landscape, most notably through the importation of healing cults during the late fifth century BCE. Arguing that this healing cult "phenomenon" was something novel within the infrastructure of Greek religion, the project situates these cults amidst the social and political crises of the Peloponnesian War, and alongside the developing corpus of Hippocratic medicine. Evidence for new fifth century healing cults is synthesized and examined, including three cults of Asklepios, two cults of the *Heros Iatros*, the cult of Amynos and, in the greatest detail, the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos. The project thus emphasizes the study not of a single healing cult, such as that Asklepios in the south slope Asklepieion, but rather examines *all* of the new healing cults that emerge in Attica during the late fifth century BCE. It was not an instance of a single new cult or deity, in other words, but rather a flurry of new healing cults—all of which catered primarily to health concerns—which took root across communities at the level of the *polis*, the deme, and even local, "sub-deme" units such as neighborhoods. By examining them together, as constituent parts of a larger healing phenomenon, these new cults reveal what Athenians sought from their deities during a time of change and crisis, as well as how religious innovation could reflect fluctuations in community identity over time. At issue throughout this project is the changing relationship between the *polis* and the Athenian individual. In the retooled society of late fifth century Athens, new collectivities and vectors of cooperation formed around individuals and the *oikos* unit; the realignment of traditional *polis*-bonds augmented the appeal of cults promoting individual and family health.

Committee Members:

H. Alan Shapiro
Silvia Montiglio
Jon Mikalson
Marian Feldman
Jacob Lauinger

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Note on Translations

As noted above, this project has been incubating for many years. The advantage of deciding upon the topic so early in graduate school has been the time spent developing various aspect of this project in coursework—including many of the translations. A fair number of the English translations are my own, unless otherwise noted; major exceptions to this are the texts from the Hippocratic Corpus, which contained idiosyncratic vocabulary with which I was not terribly familiar (though would like to become more so in the future). Furthermore, I tried to provide English translations for most well-preserved Greek inscriptions; however for fragments of building accounts containing expenditures or payments, for example, this seemed unnecessary for the scope of the current project.

I generally—but not consistently—favor the Greek spelling of authors and names, except in cases in which the Latinized or Anglicized spelling is more established (thus *Hippokrates* but *Hippocratic Corpus*). I admit that my English transliteration of Greek vowels is at times inconsistent, sometimes I use "e" and sometimes "i" when transcribing *etas*, for example; I plan to standardize this in future iterations of the project. For abbreviations of ancient authors and their works, please refer to S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow, eds. 2010 *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 4th eds, Oxford; for journal abbreviations, please refer to *L-Année Philologique*.

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Introduction

The fifth century BCE witnessed Athens' rise to greatness.[1] From the ashes of Persian destruction, she came to dominate the Aegean; by the middle of the century, her navy could be found patrolling the waters of the Hellespont and Lower Nile.[2] On land, too, Athens controlled a sizable territory. Following the Battle of Oenophyta in 457, the Athenians "became masters of Boeotia and Phokis;" these regions capped a long list of military laurels that included a garrisoned presence in Megara, the defeat of Aegina and Sikyon, the destruction of a Spartan arsenal in the Peloponnese, and the completion of the Athenian Long Walls at home.[3] The Long Walls formed an artery connecting the city center to the beating heart of empire— Athens' navy, based in the Piraeus at Zea harbor. In the case of siege or invasion, the Athenians would be untouchable; once within these walls, they could access their unrivaled fleet, thereby importing food or waging war by sea. Yet the thought of defensive measures was hardly necessary, so invulnerable seemed Athens' position at the time. From a strategic point of view, Athens ruled a contiguous territory of considerable size, stretching from Boeotia in the north to Megara in the west. She was accordingly safe from land attacks, with Megara and Boeotia serving as buffer states. Looking south, Aegina—for decades a thorn in Athens' side—lay quiet and, beyond that, an assemblage of wall-less, fleet-less islands paying tribute (Fig. 1). This was surely the acme of Athenian power.

Athens' unapologetic expansion, combined with her political and economic policies, created great unease in the Greek world. This unease culminated—according to Thucydides—in the Peloponnesian War, a conflict so far-reaching as to incorporate Persia, Macedon, and the cities of Sicily.[4] It drained Athens of resources and population, ignited a devastating plague, and radically

[1] From here out unless otherwise noted, all dates should be understood as "BCE," or Before the Common Era.
[2] Athenian navy in Hellespont: *IG* I^3 61, a decree mentioning *Hellespontophylakes*, who are forbidden from taxing ships transporting grain to Methone, an important Athenian ally; Athenian navy in Lower Nile: *IG* I^2 929, a casualty list of the Erechtheid Tribe, c. 459 BCE, see also Thuc. 1.109.1-2
[3] Thuc.1.108.
[4] Thuc.1.23.5-6; 1.88; 1.118.2.

shifted the balance of power in the Mediterranean world. The later fifth century saw the wane of Athens' power, as the tendrils of her empire shriveled, never quite to return. On the heels of the Athenian defeat came great change; many institutions were overhauled, and some repurposed or adapted toward new ends. The democracy itself was twice overthrown and reinstated.[5] A new law code and alphabet were implemented.[6] While the situation in Athens by the end of the Peloponnesian War was undeniably bleak, these years also experienced innovations that have been viewed as a "cultural revolution" of sorts; the crises of the late fifth century brought change to the political regime, modifications in the use of public space, and advances in the military, to name but a few novelties.[7] These fast-paced years also saw the establishment of many new religious cults in Attica. Particularly—and strikingly, I argue—Athens experienced a surge in a new, specialized type of deity: the healing hero and his distinct incubation cult.

In its broadest sense, this project engages with questions of religious innovation, and emphasizes the role played by ritual in the reworking of polytheistic pantheons, especially during periods of social crisis. It has long been noted that Greek religion, like most polytheistic systems, experienced a constant ebb and flow of deities within its pantheon; Athenian religion, too, exhibited varying degrees of continuity and change over time.[8] New deities established themselves in Athens, for example, with such ease and frequency that a new cult of Asklepios in 420/19 should hardly seem remarkable. What I endeavor to show in this study, however, is that Athens experienced an atypical surge in a new, highly specialized type of healing deity during these years, and that this was something new and remarkable within the infrastructure of Greek religion. During the crisis-ridden years of the Peloponnesian War we are thus confronted with the emergence *not* of a single new deity, e.g. Asklepios, but rather the contemporary appearance of *several* new cults of Asklepios

[5] In 411 and 404/3 BCE: Thuc.8.1.3-4, 67-69; Xen. 2.3.12; Lys. 12.65, 13.13-15; Aristot. *Pol*. 1299; Aristot. *Ath. Pol*. 29-34. Low 2008, p.258; Osborne 2010, p.273; Kagan 1991, pp.109-121; Buck 1998; Wolpert 2006.
[6] Lys. 30; Lanni 2006, pp.143-4; Threatte 1980, pp. 26-30.
[7] Osborne 2007.

across Attica, along with similar cults devoted exclusively to healing, such as those of the *Heros Iatros* and Amphiaraos. This "burst" in a new, specialized type of deity—which resulted in numerous healing cults in a single *polis* during a very short period of time—was unparalleled up to this point in the history of Greek religion, as far as I am aware.

My project thus emphasizes the study not of a single healing cult, such as that of Asklepios in the south slope Asklepieion, but rather explores *all* of the new healing cults that emerge in Attica during the late fifth century BCE. By examining them together, as constituent parts of a larger healing "phenomenon," these new cults reveal what Athenians were seeking from their deities during this time of crisis, as well as how religious innovation could reflect fluctuations in community identity over time. When examined in this way, the introduction of these new healing cults during a close moment in time seems to have rested mainly upon pragmatic grounds, and reflected what Athenians most wanted from their gods: a recourse to health and well-being for the individual and the family unit. It was not an instance of a just another new cult or deity coming to Athens, in other words, but rather a flurry of new and specialized healing cults—all of which catered primarily to individual health concerns—which took root across communities at the level of the *polis*, the deme, and even local, sub-deme units such as neighborhoods. Studies that focus on the centrality of a single healing cult, such as that of Asklepios, or Amphiaraos for that matter, tend to lose sight of the forest for the trees in this regard.[9] The foundation of (at least) three new cults of Asklepios in Athens during a close moment in time was not simply a routine part in the spread of a popular cult; here it should not be written off as a broader religious trend in which a popular cult swept across Greece in the fifth and fourth centuries.[10] Rather, in this case it was born from a response to the flurry of crises and developments unique to Athens during the late fifth century, and included the establishment of several other new healing cults alongside those of Asklepios. Though there were always new gods,

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[8] Parker writes that "'Traditional' polytheisms are subject to constant change; that is one of their traditions" (1996, pp.152-3).

[9] Wickkiser 2008, pp.97-105; 2009; Sineux 2007.

and new associations between gods, it is alongside this unparalleled and dramatic surge in healing heroes that we are able to detect changes in ritual practice, as well as new patterns of religious and social thought.

This dissertation strives to show this in three parts (Part I, II, III), all of which are interrelated and broken down into smaller sub-sections. Part I of this project serves two purposes; the first is to situate the emergence of Attic healing cults within the historic and socio-political milieu of late fifth century BCE Athens. This provides a background for readers less familiar with Classical social history, and sets the backdrop against which the rest of the project is based. The second aim is to explore the agents and institutions that seem to have affected or contributed to the sudden emergence of deities concerned with health. I suggest that the near-simultaneous foundation of several healing cults across Attica in a period of less than ten years should be understood as a deliberate, concerted phenomenon;[11] this section examines possible underlying causes, "triggers," and movements that may have influenced the contemporary rise of cults devoted to individual health and well-being. I suggest that the foundations of fifth century Attic healing cults—including and especially the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos—were influenced by numerous factors, including Athens' desire to manage subject territories through religious cults (1.1), the plague of 430-426 BCE (1.2), the Peloponnesian War and resultant population loss, which led to a realigning of the relationship between the *polis* and the individual (as well as the *oikos* unit, 1.3), and the development of Greek medicine (1.4). Some of these events, such as the plague and Peloponnesian War, can be seen as more immediate factors underpinning the "healing cult phenomenon" in that they intensified the need for accessible healthcare options. Others, such as the

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[10] Melfi 2007, pp. 313-432; Riethmüller 2005, I: 241-273; Wickkiser 2008.

[11] At least four new healing cults were founded in Attica within less than 10 years of each other: that of Asklepios in the Piraeus (Lamont 2015 with bibliography), Asklepios in the Eleusinion (Lawton 2015), Asklepios on the Akropolis' south slope (*IG* II^2 4960-1; Wickkiser 2008; Melfi 2007, pp. 313-432; Riethmüller 2005, I: 241-273), and the healing sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos (Sineux 2007). The healing shrines of the *Heros Iatros*, located northeast of the Classical Agora, and Amynos, on the western slope of the Akropolis, also seem to have been founded or reorganized around this time, though their dates cannot be pinpointed with any certainty: Kutsch 1913, pp. 12-16; Gorrini 2001, pp. 304-6. Discussed in Parts II and III.

development of Greek medicine—as seen through the consolidation of the Hippocratic Corpus and its reverberations in Athens—can be understood rather as contemporary movements that unfolded alongside new Attic healing cults, and triggered public interest in health and the body. All, nonetheless, inform us as to why healing cults appealed to Athenians during the late fifth century BCE, while also situating the "healing cult phenomenon" in its social, historical, and political context. This section pulls upon a broad range of disparate scholarship, which spans from studies of the Hippocratic Corpus by scholars of Greek medicine such as Jouanna, Nutton, and van der Eijk, to recent archaeological reports from Greek rescue excavations.[12] It joins larger historical themes in Athenian imperial history with new studies of fragmentary boundary markers (*horoi*), and sacred properties controlled by Athens in subject territories.[13] Visual iconography from funerary *lekythoi*, and the emergence of new types of ritual vessels known as miniature *choes,* are explored alongside Euripidean tragedy and Aristophanic comedy, as all of these sources help inform Athenian views on population loss during the Peloponnesian War.[14] In assembling such a diverse body of evidence, the material can seem a bit disjointed, its seams exposed in the stitching of the historical tapestry. Uniting these disparate materials, however, was the catalyst-like role that they played in augmenting the appeal of cults that catered to individualized health concerns. As developments, strains, and crises, these events and themes shed light on *why* so many new healing cults were established in Athens during the late fifth century.

Building upon this foundation, the second part of the project explores how during this period of change and crisis, Athenians were negotiating their social needs through alterations in the

[12] Hippocratic Corpus, and Greek medicine more broadly, see: Jouanna 1988, 1989, 1990, 1996, 1999, 2003; Nutton 1995, 2004; and van der Eijk 1990, 1991, 2005. Greek archaeological reports, especially those that uncovered mass graves from the years of the Athenian plague in the 420s, see Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, pp. 187-201. Baziotopoulou & Drakotou 1999, pp. 34-36.

[13] Sources especially useful in researching these topics were Polinskaya's work on Aiginetan *horoi* and their relationship to the *temene* that they enclosed (2009), Moreno's work on Athenian kleruchies during the Classical period (2009), and Papazarkadas' epigraphic studies more generally, which address the three-bar sigma controversy, sacred *temene*, and new inscriptions relating to the early cult of Amphiaraos (2011, 2014). For Athenian imperial history, see Smarczyk 1990, Low 2008.

[14] e.g., Ham 1999; Oakley 2009; Kosak 2004.

religious landscape—most notably through the importation and integration of healing cults during the last quarter of the fifth century BCE. The sudden emergence of deities concerned with health was striking and deliberate, and reflected a larger phenomenon at work upon Athenian society; this was manifest in the near simultaneous foundation of several healing cults across Attica in a period of less than ten years (c.425-415 BCE): (1) the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos (2) the cult of Asklepios on the Akropolis' south slope (3) the cult of Asklepios in the Piraeus and (4) the cult of Asklepios in the city Eleusinion. It seems likely, but is impossible to show with certainty, that three additional healing shrines were also established during this same period: (5) the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis (6) the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens and (7) Asklepios at Eleusis. In addition, (8) the cult of Amynos began to function as a healing shrine around this same time, housing both Amynos and Asklepios within the precinct by the early fourth century BCE. These cults are discussed in detail below, with evidence collated from a wide range of sources such as inscriptions, relief sculpture, literature (Athenian historiography, comedy, and oratory), sacred architecture, and other archaeological remains. Part II introduces and clarifies chronological parameters and key terms, namely what constitutes a "healing hero," and why the study is chronologically defined by the last quarter of the fifth century (c.425-400 BCE), which corresponds quite closely to the years of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE).

Analyzing the near-contemporary foundation of these cults affords a glimpse of the social climate in late fifth century Athens; what emerges is that Athenians were assiduously establishing healing sanctuaries at this time, and that the foundation of these new cults should be understood together, as different instances of a single larger phenomenon. Studies like those of Bronwen Wickkiser, which point toward an Athenian political agenda in explaining the establishment of a single sanctuary (the south slope Asklepieion), overlook the significance of the many healing cults

founded across Attica contemporaneously.[15] Such singular approaches can obscure the overarching historical picture, namely that the rise of Attic healing cults was a concerted, contemporary trend, one that should be understood as a new phenomenon within the religious infrastructure of Athens, and possibly Greek polytheism more broadly.

This section pulls upon the earlier research on cults of Asklepios done by Emma and Ludwig Edelstein (vast literary and epigraphic syntheses), Jürgen Riethmüller (archaeological), and Milena Melfi (archaeological), but expands upon them by not restricting discussion to the cult of Asklepios, or trafficking in a single medium for sources (archaeological remains, literature, etc.); adding Amphiaraos, the *Heros Iatros*, and Amynos can only enrich and better contextualize the historical discussion. As far back as 1913, Kutsch's *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* aimed to collect all of the evidence related to Attic healing heroes known at the time; after more than a century, ample archaeological and epigraphic discoveries have supplemented Kutsch's monograph, but no substantial publication has yet replaced it. Several brief articles on Attic healing cults have appeared in recent years, including those by Verbanck-Pierard, Gorrini, Melfi and Gorrini, and Vikela; the section of Kearn's monograph on "healing heroes" can be grouped with these others.[16] All are quite helpful in the overview that they provide of Attic healing cults, and some even begin to explore the role of ritual within these sacred *temene*. But they are cursory at best in that they offer no historical context for the cults, or real iconographical engagement with ritualized objects such as votive reliefs; nor do they relate the separate healing cults to one another, or analyze the original archaeological reports in any depth. They sometimes leave their sources un-examined, furthermore, when offering dates for cult foundations; this is especially problematic as some chronologies teeter dangerously on the style of letter-forms in a single *ex-situ* inscription when dating an entire cult (e.g., the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis).

[15] Wickkiser 2008, a frequently cited study that has gained much traction since publication, and is often cited in new scholarship on Athenian religion: Lawton 2015, Kearns 2015, Anderson 2015. See ambivalent reviews by Marx-Wolf 2010 and Holmes 2010.

I hope that Parts II and III of this thesis can help supplement these earlier projects, and through a deeper engagement with the sources—visual, material, epigraphic, and literary—show the ways in which Athenians were responding to change and crisis through alterations in the built religious landscape. Building upon eight case studies, it is possible to explore how new, non-Attic healing deities were absorbed into the cultic landscape, with ritual playing a crucial role in their integration within religious communities. The goal of Part II is to show the sudden presence and popularity of Attic healing cults in the late fifth century BCE, and provide a useful collection of sources for secondary consultation. Rather than privileging a single sanctuary, I hope to show that there was a fair smattering of new healing cults in Attica by the turn of the fifth century, which ranged from small deme-based shrines and rustic altars in the countryside, to prominent, centrally located sanctuaries equipped with incubation facilities and state-sponsored festivals.

The third and final part of this project explores the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos, another healing cult founded on Attic-controlled soil in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE. The cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos is an interesting if perplexing case study; questions abound as to *why* and *how* an Argive seer and warrior came to preside over a healing cult in northeastern Attica during the Peloponnesian War. Part III aims to answer these questions through a study of Amphiaraos, the Oropia region, and the iatromantic sanctuary itself. Discussion begins with the figure of Amphiaraos in both myth and cult (3.1); it is necessary to explore the early traditions surrounding the hero in order to understand the transformation that he undergoes in his cult at Oropos. Discussion then turns to the site of Oropos in northeastern Attica, on the border between Athens and Thebes (3.2). The fate of the extra-urban sanctuary is tied to the city of Oropos; the historical developments of both the sanctuary and the greater Oropia region are accordingly traced, therein establishing a framework through which fluctuations in regional and sanctuary administration can be seen (3.3). In section 3.4, the sanctuary itself is presented from a synthesis of archaeological, visual, and

[16] Kearns 1989; Verbanck-Pierard 2000; Gorrini 2001; Gorrini and Melfi 2002; Vikela 2007.

epigraphic sources, which illuminate the workings of the cult during its earliest years. Finally, different "foundation scenarios" are considered, with the final conclusion that the cult was an Athenian foundation during the last quarter of the fifth century, sometime prior to the year 414 BCE (3.5). I argue that the cult was established on account of the social, political, and "medical" changes discussed in Part I of the project, as another instance of the "healing cult phenomenon" presented in Part II. The healing cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos thus ties together the first two parts of the project, and ultimately reveals how a religious cult could evolve to meet a community's social needs during a period of rapid change and crisis.

The cult of Amphiaraos has been largely neglected by previous scholarship, with the recent exception of Pierre Sineux's *Amphiaraos: Guerrier, devin et guérisseur*; this helpful monograph examines the figure of Amphiaraos in myth and cult, and is the first to do so as far as I am aware. Trained as a philologist and historian, Sineux explores the early literature in which Amphiaraos' mythological identity takes shape; for historical context, he turns to Athenian tragedy and epigraphy, but does not engage much material evidence, nor does he situate this cult alongside the other new healing sanctuaries that were taking root across Attica contemporaneously. He also avoids a deep discussion of the cult's foundation, an admittedly hairy problem but one that begs analysis and sorting out. Two additional indispensible studies are those of Petrakos, *Ὁ Ὠρωπὸς καὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου* (1968) and *Οι Επιγραπές του Ωρωπού* (1997), which synthesize the archaeological and epigraphic material from the Amphiareion. Cosmopoulos' field survey covers a significant amount of the Oropia, and helps situate the sanctuary amidst the larger landscape to which it belonged; by showing changes in settlement patterns over time, the project adds a demographic element to worship at the Amphiareion—i.e., who was living near the site during which period (and likely worshipping there), and how these patterns waxed and waned in times of Athenian versus Theban hegemony.[17] Lastly, several articles or chapters relating to the sanctuary of

[17] On the Oropos Survey Project, see Cosmopoulos 2001.

Amphiaraos and the town of Oropos prove important for understanding how the sanctuary relates back to Athenian religion and empire during the Classical period. Among the most important is Albert Schachter's overview on Amphiaraos in his *Cults of Boiotia* volume; his collation of the literature is quite useful, if slightly outdated, and his discussion is convincing though I ultimately disagree with his conclusions. Also important for understanding the Amphiareion's role in regional relations is Denis Knoepler's "L'occupation d'Oropos par Athènes au IV siècle avant J.-C.: une clérouquie dissimulée?" in the *Annuario di Scuola Italiana d'Atene.*[18] Knoepfler gives a detailed account of the history of Oropos and eventually suggests that the first *horismos* of the Oropia by the Athenians took place during Athens' occupation in the earlier fourth century BCE, between 374 and 366 BCE. I find his approach helpful, and employ a similar one when suggesting that Athens' control of Oropos during the fifth century employed mechanisms of kleruchic administration found in other subject territories. As always, Robert Parker's *Athenian Religion* proves immensely helpful, especially his brief consideration of the Amphiareion's "curious" establishment at Oropos; Parker's belief that the cult's foundation was undertaken by an Athenian initiative lends confidence to my own conclusions.[19] Jon Mikalson, too, shows the popularity and appeal of healing cults in the Classical and Hellenistic period; his work on local and neighborhood communities of worship, such as *orgeones*, is helpful for understanding the structure of worship in the Amyneion, for example.[20] Finally, Nikolaos Papazarkadas' publication in 2014 of a remarkable new inscription relating to the Archaic oracular shrine of Amphiaraos near Thebes shows the degree to which new material evidence can alter current scholarship, and even the very questions we are able to ask of the material evidence from these sanctuaries.[21] In synthesizing a diverse array of old, new, and previously unconnected sources—which I believe allows for the drawing of new and historically contextualized conclusions—I provide the first comprehensive examination of the cult of

[18] Vol. 88 (2010), but came out in 2012 in the special issue "Lemno dai Tirreni agli Ateniesi".
[19] Parker 1996; so too Parker 2008.
[20] Mikalson 1983, 1998.

Amphiaraos and the circumstances surrounding its foundation in English, and situate it historically and "religiously" alongside the numerous other healing sanctuaries shown to have taken root across Attica in Part II. The archaeological material assembled here, furthermore, is not only quite up to date—inclusive of evidence found as recently as 2014, and articles published in 2015—but should now be accessible to a wider audience, especially as Petrakos' instrumental archaeological volumes were written in *katharevousa*, which most modern Greek speakers struggle to read.[22]

This study provides a glimpse of real Athenian worshippers, and gives voice to their reactions, perceptions, and thoughts with regard to new (and old) religious matters—so called "lived-religion" in Classical Athens. This project also engages with questions relating to the "mechanisms" of religious innovation—for example, how change in Athenian religion was authorized—as well as the relationship between religion and politics in Classical Athens. Evident throughout is religion's active ability to shape society, and the embeddedness of Athenian religion within daily life.[23] With its focus on rituals, especially those considered "personal" in nature and contextualized in the broader spectrum of Bell's ritualizations, this project moves beyond the traditional "polis model" approach to Greek religion; the inclusion of material evidence for private, personal, and family rituals, for example, demonstrates the complex relationships between these new healing heroes and individual Athenians, and in doing so de-centralizes the "polis model" as it relates to Classical cults.[24] "Personal" religion, which emphasizes the individual as the basic unit of ancient religious experience, has become something of a hot topic in recent discussions of Greek religion;[25] it is invoked throughout this project in relation to a number of religious practices that reflect individual engagement and

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[21] Papazarkadas 2014.

[22] καθαρεύουσα: this "pure" language was a form of Modern Greek conceived in the early 19th century, a hybrid with components of Ancient Greek and the Demotic Greek of its time. Seldom employed in daily language, it was used for literary and official (thus elite) purposes, with the aim of stripping from the modern Greek tongue the numerous Ottoman influences, and even the linguistic developments that came with Byzantine Greek.

[23] Insoll 2004a, pp.46-51.

[24] Bell 1992, 1997. On recent reassessments and critiques to Sourvinou-Inwood's (2000a,b) "polis model" approach toward Greek religion, see Kindt 2009; Bremmer 2010, pp. 13-35; Eidinow 2011; Kindt 2012.

[25] Kindt 2015, pp. 35-50.

interaction with Athenian healing heroes, and accordingly occupies a dimension separate from "official" state religion. Though often subsuming practices considered "private" in nature, personal religion has been shown to combine aspects of public and private belief and practice;[26] it can be a useful tool for study insofar as it provides a forum for the whole spectrum of ways in which an Athenian individual received, understood, and altered culturally specific beliefs and practices—in this case those related to health and healing during the Classical period. Healing cults, with their vast numbers of personalized votive dedications in particular, speak much to the existence of personal "piety," and the interaction between the healing deity and the individual worshipper is shown to lie at the heart of this relationship entirely.

It is in these ways that I see my project engaging with and challenging the current field of Greek religion—which in itself is amorphous at best—while more specifically calling for a reassessment of healing cults in late fifth century Athens. The attention paid to the cult of Asklepios on the south slope of the Akropolis, as noted above, is often replicated in recent scholarship discussing Attic healing heroes;[27] it is important, I argue, to show that this is not always a productive approach as it fails to consider the numerous other healing cults that contemporaneously arose alongside that of Asklepios on the Akropolis. Some of these, such as the understudied cult of Asklepios in the Piraeus, were just as popular, and need be brought into the discussion alongside the south slope Asklepieion.[28] While each case was unique, and the circumstances of foundation idiosyncratic, together they are clearly related and should be studied as a larger phenomenon; doing so only enriches our understanding of Athenian social history and the ways in which communities under strain engaged with and structured their religious communities. The result, too, is a much richer outlook on how religion reflected social needs and history during a specific period and place, and affords a glimpse of Athens' social "biography" as the unrest of the fifth century unfolded over

[26] Kindt 2015, pp.35-6.

time, and became embedded in the city's cultic life. The rise of Athenian healing cults was, in other words, linked with the crises and upheavals of this period, as well as the city's political ambitions and cultural developments. The cults of Pan and Boreas, for example, also came to Athens during a period of war and reflected the collective hardships and eventual triumphs of the city through the lens of Athenian cultic life.[29] Kybele, Bendis, and Isis also found footing on Athenian soil during the Classical period, with varying degrees of involvement from communities at the state and sub-*polis* level (*orgeones*, for example).[30] Yet never before was Athens, or any other Greek city, known to have imported so many cults of a specific type during a (near) single moment in time as can be seen in Athens' establishment of healing cults during the Peloponnesian War.

We are, of course, best informed about the establishment of new cults in the *polis* of Athens. The breadth, quality, and quantity of the evidence sheds light on the presence of new healing heroes across the whole conurbation of Attica, with engagement at nearly all community levels, from small neighborhoods to demes to the level of the polis itself. It is remarkable, for example, to know the exact day and year in which a new cult of Asklepios arrived in the city, and chart the architectural development of the sanctuary during its earliest decades of existence.[31] Similarly, Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War and references in Aristophanes provide dates that allow us to examine the foundation of other new Athenian healing cults with a rare degree of specificity.

Any study based in Athenian religion comes with the pleasures and challenges of engaging with a wide range of sources. The main bodies of evidence used in this project include epigraphic, literary, material, and visual data. In very different ways, all give color to the "healing phenomenon"

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[27] See, for example, how Wickkiser's 2008 book (and approach, and conclusions) is cited as *the* central study for the cult of Asklepios in Athens throughout the new *Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*: Kearns 2015, Anderson 2015, Graf 2015, *et al*.

[28] Lamont 2015.

[29] Cult of Pan founded in Athens during Persian Wars: Her. 6.105.1; Simonid. Fr.5; Paus. 8.54.6. Cult of Boreas founded during Persian Wars: Her.7.189.

[30] Kybele: Strab. 10.3.18; Papachristodoulou 1973, pp. 189–217; Petritaki 2009, p. 469; Munn 2006. Bendis: *IG* I^3 383; *IG* II^2 1283; *IG* I^3 136; Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.11. Isis: Mikalson 1998, p.276 (cult of Isis in Athens prior to 332/1 BCE, with discussion and larger bibliography). See too Garland 1992, pp.112-114; Parker 1996, pp.156-61, 170-5, 195, 243, 337.

[31] The Telemachos Monument: *IG* II^2 4960-1; see Part 2.3.

that took root in Athens during the late fifth century. With regard to material evidence as it related to fifth century healing cults, I synthesize a broad range of sources including old and new archaeological reports and mapping/landscape-based approaches to sacred space, the latter made accessible by archaeological survey reports. I rely upon object-based approaches to ritualized actions performed within the healing cults, and try to use objects with a known provenance (if not secure archaeological context), because we can only understand an ancient object's function if we can interpret how it operated within the spaces in which it circulated. Context is thus crucial to interpretation. In several cases I harvest data about material and visual objects from epigraphic sources, always embedding the inscription and the referenced objects or actions within the sacred spaces in which they functioned. When using literary evidence, especially Aristophanic comedy, I try not to disembody the referenced lines from the larger play and its performance setting. When using works such as the *Ploutos*, furthermore, I frame the material—performative in nature and meant first and foremost to entertain—as presupposing a degree of familiarity with healing cults on the part of the audience, rather than arguing for a one-to-one correlation between the rituals performed in the play and those enacted in "real" Attic healing cults. In drawing from such disparate sources, this dissertation makes a sincere effort to synthesize multiple approaches and bodies of evidence. I know of no other study that strives to engage holistically with such diverse sources and media, and it is my hope that this project will be accessible and helpful to archaeologists, philologists, historians, epigraphers, and art historians alike.

Part I

Agents and Influences in the Rise of Attic Healing Cults: A Historical Background

Overview and Introduction

Part I of this dissertation serves two purposes. The first is to situate the emergence of Attic healing cults within the historic and socio-political milieu of late fifth century Athens; this provides circumstantial information for readers less familiar with Classical social history, and sets the backdrop against which the rest of the project is based. The second aim is to explore the agents and institutions that affected or contributed to the sudden emergence of deities concerned with health. I suggest that the near-simultaneous foundation of several healing cults across Attica in a period of less than ten years should be understood as a deliberate, concerted phenomenon;[32] this section examines possible underlying causes, "triggers," and movements that may have influenced the contemporary rise of cults devoted to individual health and well-being. I suggest that the foundations of fifth century Attic healing cults—including and especially the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos—were influenced by numerous factors, including Athens' desire to manage subject territories through religious cults (1.1), the plague of 430-426 BCE (1.2), the Peloponnesian War and resultant population loss, which led to a realigning of the relationship between the polis and the individual (as well as the *oikos* unit, 1.3), and the consolidation of Hippocratic medicine (1.4). Some of these events, such as the plague and Peloponnesian War, can be seen as more immediate factors underpinning the "healing cult phenomenon" in that they intensified the need for healthcare options. Others, such as the development of Greek medicine—as seen through the

[32] At least four new healing cults were founded in Attica within less than 10 years of each other: that of Asklepios in the City Eleusinion (Lawton 2015, with bibliography), Asklepios on the Akropolis' south slope (*IG* II² 4960-1; Wickkiser 2008; Melfi 2007, pp. 313-432; Riethmüller 2005, I: 241-273), Asklepios in the Piraeus (Lamont 2015, with bibliography), and the healing sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos (Sineux 2007). The healing shrines of the *Heros Iatros*, located northeast of the Classical Agora, and Amynos, on the western slope of the Akropolis, also seem to have been founded or reorganized around this time, though their dates cannot be pinpointed with any certainty: Kutsch 1913, pp. 12-16; Gorrini 2001, pp. 304-6. Discussed in Parts II and III.

consolidation of the Hippocratic Corpus—can be understood rather as contemporary movements that unfolded alongside new Attic healing cults, and triggered public interest in health and the body. All, nonetheless, inform us as to *why* healing cults appealed to Athenians during the late fifth century BCE, while also situating the "healing cult phenomenon" within its social, historical, and political context.

1.1 Athenian Religion and the Controlling of Territory

This section examines the ways in which Athens was manipulating cults and sanctuaries in subject regions, as a way to better structure and manage her territories during the fifth century BCE. Athens' cultic interventions in conquered territories, and more general imperialistic dealings abroad, can help inform her administration of the disputed region of Oropos, and the foundation of the healing cult of Amphiaraos therein. We begin with a note and general caveat for the discussion of "religion" in Athenian administrative policies. As was the case in most pre-modern societies, there was no distinction between "church" and "state" in Classical Athens; the Athenian state and religion were entirely interwoven. The central organ of the Athenian democracy, the Assembly, concerned itself not only with questions of war and the election of generals, but also with "religious" issues, to introduce a distinction unknown to the Greeks. The Assembly addressed matters of ritualized sacrifice, the payment and perquisites of priestesses, and the collection of hides from sacrificial animals.[33] In other words, the modern spheres of politics and religion were entirely interwoven under the Athenian democracy. It comes as no surprise, then, that Athens' dealings in subject territories could involve interventions in local cults and deities. Instances in

[33] For example, *IG* II^2 47; *IG* I^3 35-6; *IG* II^2 1496.

which Athens manipulated the religious landscape in subject regions, through interventions in cults, shrines, or festivals, are analyzed in this section.

We first turn to the ways in which Athens required allied *poleis* to participate in certain Athenian festivals. Additionally, instances in which Athens entered subject *poleis* and restructured the cultic landscape as a means of controlling the territory are examined. The processes by which Athens modified religious cults within her kleruchies proves especially illuminating, and reveals how sanctuaries played a crucial role in methods of Athenian imperial control. Examined collectively, it becomes clear how "religion" was employed as a tool for governing empire, even though these categories were not conscious ones in Classical Athens. It also emerges that Athens was using cults and sanctuaries as a way of policing her empire, and this has implications for the way we understand the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos, and even that of Asklepios in central Athens with its "politically" Epidaurian origins, as some have argued.[34] In addition to providing a historical background to the period in which this project is based—especially as it relates to cults and sanctuaries—this section examines the ways in which Athens intervened in the sacred affairs of states within her sphere of influence. It is clear that throughout the fifth century, Athens was indeed activating, altering, and manipulating gods and sanctuaries in subject territories. Athenians cults and religious practices were, in turn, also affected and changed by the pantheons and rituals of these non-Attic regions. Intervening in the cultic affairs of a conquered, non-Attic territory was not only an effective way to structure and manage the area, but it also afforded Athens significant economic benefits back at home.

1.1.1 The Athenian Empire at Home and Abroad

[34] Wickkiser 2008; Mikalson 1984.

During the *Pentakontaiteia* and the Peloponnesian War proper, Athens required her "Allies" to participate in certain Athenian religious events.[35] Allied poleis were obliged to send a cow, panoply, and in at least one case 3 *minai* of grain to the Greater Panathenaia festival.[36] These forced dedications were to be brought to Athens and escorted by representatives from *poleis* within the Delian League, in a procession below the marble temples that their own tribute may have helped to fund.[37] Surely the Panathenaia hinted of Athenian imperialism, as allied states presented their offerings to an exacting Athena atop the Akropolis. States within the Delian League were also required to visit Athens during another major Athenian festival, when tribute was due for payment at the Dionysia.[38]

Surely we need not be entirely critical here about motives. Athens must have included tribute-paying states within major festivals to foster cohesion within the empire, and bolster her own claims to hegemony therein; imagine, for example, how Allied states would deposit their tribute during the Greater Dionysia and then attend a performance like Euripides' *Ion*, in which Apollo himself—the patron god of all Ionians— was intimated to be part of the Athenian royal genealogy.[39] The summoning of the Allies to Athens, at least in part, was a tactful and pragmatic approach to imperial maintenance. Athens went to great lengths to maintain diplomatic ties with tribute-paying poleis, at least prior to and during the Periklean era. The great effort poured into Athenian proxenies, for example, and the rights afforded *proxenoi*, support the idea that Athens was duly trying to maintain order and stability within the empire. *Proxenoi* served as ambassadors of sorts, representing Athens' interests abroad, especially within tribute-paying states. *Proxenoi* were

[35] On the Athenian Empire, or *arche*, more generally see: Low 2008; Samons 2007; Meier 1993; Badian 1993; Smarczyk 1990; Rhodes 1985.
[36] *IG* I^3 14, 34, 71; Sch. *ad* Ar. *Clouds* 386.
[37] See Plut. *Per*. 12, in which Perikles' enemies assail his misuse of allied funds for outfitting Athens with costly temples. Kallet-Marx (2008, p.199) notes that "disagreement could arise over the proper use of imperial funds beyond the military demands of the polis; but the exploitation and appropriation of the resources of the allies is treated as a given." See Kallet-Marx 2008 *passim* for discussion of the extent to which Athens was using funds from Delian League coffers for the so-called Periklean building program.
[38] Goldhill 1987.

placed "on a par with Athenian citizens," and often generals and other officials ensured that the *proxenos* and his family be protected; the matter was sufficiently serious that "severe penalties [we]re laid down against those who harm[ed] him, with compensation to be paid by the malefactors."[40] This protection was applicable not only in Athens, but throughout the empire.[41] Allied states were valuable resources, as they provided Athens with grain, timber, and other necessities, not to mention money in tribute. And so members of Allied states traveled to Athens throughout the year, making dedications and participating in religious festivals; there was even infrastructure in place by which cases involving the Allies were handled in Athenian courts.[42] While pleasantries with tribute-paying poleis were carefully upheld, penalties for rebellious states were enforced with equal zeal.

As members of tribute-bearing cities came to Athens, so too were Athenians traveling to subject *poleis*. When a state rebelled, Athens' tactful diplomacy could dissolve into heavy-handed rule. One of the harshest forms of Athenian rule in subject states was the *kleruchy*, an institution developed both to manage and punish rebellious states; as a mechanism of empire, kleruchies were as brutal as they were hated.[43] Though the phenomenon likely began during the late Archaic period, it peaked in the mid fifth century, paralleling the height of the Athenian empire.[44] But what, exactly, was a kleruchy? Likely *the* harshest product of Athenian imperialism, the kleruchy brought Athenian citizens, sometimes poor or landless, and sometimes from Athens' wealthiest class, into the territories of subject states following an unsuccessful rebellion.[45] *Kleroi*, which refer to the

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[39] While Apollo is, by the play's end, acknowledged to be the father of Ion and accordingly an ancestor of the Athenians, his presence (or lack thereof) within the play is problematic and much discussed by scholars: Zacharia 2003; Lefkowitz 2003, pp.149-152; Mikalson 2014, pp.225-235.
[40] Walbank 2008, p. 136.
[41] Walbank 2008.
[42] Kallet-Marx 1994, pp. 246-8.
[43] Moreno 2009, pp. 211-221.
[44] Athens had began to deploy *kleruchies* by at least by 506 BCE, when 4,000 Athenian settlers were planted in the conquered city of Chalkis; an even earlier Solonian *kleruchy* on Salamis is possible, but is shadowy at best in the sources *GHI* 14 and Cargill 1995, p.2, n.5.
[45] Ste. Croix (1972, p.43) seems to have been the main proponent of the notion that Athenian kleruchs were poor and landless citizens, who Athens sought to better by resettlement abroad. Meiggs (1972, pp.260-1) followed suit. But the

parcels carved from the territories of defeated *poleis*, were then doled-out to Athenian citizens to farm (usually, to tax-farm). In many cases, the entire population of the rebellious polis was expelled and its land was divided-up among Athenian citizens, who then settled that territory while maintaining full citizen rights in Athens; Thucydides says that this happened to Naxos, Euboia, Aegina, and Potideia all during the fifth century.[46] Andros, too, was converted into a kleruchy of 250 Athenian settlers, while the island of Melos came to support 500 Athenian kleruchs after the island's population was exterminated in 416 BCE (somewhere around 5,000 Melians).[47] After a close brush with annihilation at the hands of the Athenian Assembly, a kleruchy was also imposed on the island of Lesbos in the year 428 BCE. In this instance, Thucydides is explicit about the details of the undertaking: 3,000 plots were parceled out to Athenian settlers, and each allocated a uniform rent of 200 drachmas per year.[48] Rather than farm these plots themselves, the Athenians employed the former Lesbian landowners to maintain the *kleroi*, now as hirelings working under Athenian landlords. The Lesbian farmers were then responsible for the payment of a 200 drachma "rental-fee" of sorts, and this was how the kleruchy ultimately served to channel large amounts of money back into Athens.

In an article on the overlooked importance of the kleruchy within the Athenian Empire, Alfonso Moreno notes that the tribute exacted from Allied states was trivial when compared with the revenue brought in by kleruchies (kleruchic *poleis* did not pay tribute).[49] On Lesbos, for example, the revenue from the 3,000 *kleroi* amounted to 100 talents, more than three times the highest tribute demanded anywhere else (assessed against the large, wealthy islands of Thasos and

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Athenian Grain Tax Law of 374/3 shows that overseas lands could be given to the *pentakosiomedimnoi*, the highest income class in Athens (Moreno 2003).

[46] Thuc. 1.98, 114.3; 2.27.1, 70.3-4.

[47] Plut. *Per*. 11.5-6; Thuc. 5.84-116; Moreno 2009, p.215.

[48] Thuc. 3.50.

[49] Moreno 2009. By looking at the decree of Aristoteles from 377 BCE, which outlines the policies of the Second Athenian League, Moreno notes that this decree reassures potential allies that the abuses of the former Athenian Empire, or Delian league, would not be repeated. Very brief mention is given to tribute, as well as that to garrisons and governors (in total, two lines). By contrast, the longest treatment is given to disavowing future kleruchies. This evidence corresponds to the accounts of Thucydides and, later, of Diodorus (pulling on Ephoros), who mentions that the Athenians established a law

Aigina); roughly three-quarters of Athens' allies paid one talent or less in tribute, by comparison.[50] Furthermore, Athens' most substantial grain imports during the fifth century— 1,300,000 medimnoi of wheat, worth roughly 1,300 talents— were drawn from her kleruchies, with the nearby bread basket of Euboea of the utmost importance.[51] If Moreno is right, it was not the demand of tribute that led to discontent among the Allies, rather "tribute seems to have been demanded in careful proportion to—even in consideration of the long-term sustainability of— the economic resources of individual poleis, including not only agricultural production, but also pasturage, fishing, mineral wealth, and tax revenues."[52] Athens' most oppressive form of economic exploitation was the kleruchy.

But why explore the institution of the kleruchy in a project on the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos, and other fifth century Attic healing sanctuaries? In addition to illuminating Athenian imperial policies, the kleruchy utilized sanctuaries and cults as instruments of territorial administration. Altering the religious fabric of a subject region was a way of restructuring, controlling, and redefining a kleruchic territory as subject to Athens. Athens, in other words, was intervening in the traditional cults of regions that she came to occupy, and retooling the cultic landscape in a way that benefited her. The way in which this imperialistic mechanism worked, with respect to religious cults, can be understood as follows. Of the newly divided plots that accompanied an Athenian kleruchy, a portion of the land was given over to narrowly Athenian gods; the revenues from the leasing-out of these sacred *temene* then flowed back into Athenian coffers.[53] Precincts that once supported cults to local gods, additionally, could be made over to Athenian divinities. Fifth century *horoi* demarcating these sacred enclosures note that the re-parceled plots were sanctified to Athenian deities. Divinities such as "Athena who rules Athens" (Ηόρος : τεμένος |

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that no Athenian should cultivate lands outside of Attica in direct opposition to the loathed kleruchies of Athenian imperial policy.

[50] Thuc. 3.50.2; Thuc. 3.3.4; Osborne 2000, p.91; Nixon and Price 1990, p. 139.

[51] Moreno 2009, p.214.

[52] Moreno 2009, p.211.

Ἀθεναίας | Ἀθενῶν μεδεόσες), "The Eponymous Heroes from Athens" (*h*όρος | τεμένος | ἐπωνύμων | Ἀ<θ>ένε<θ>[ε]ν̣), and "Ion from Athens" ([*h*όρ]ο̣ς | [τε]μένος | Ἴονος | Ἀθένεθεν) asserted themselves in the 'conquered' shrines of subject territories (Figs. 2-3).[54] Other fifth century *horoi* asserted the presence of Athenian overlords in non-Attic regions more subtly, and perhaps more insidiously; for example, a series of *horoi* from an Aiginetan precinct read Ηόρος | τεμένος | Απόλλωνος | Ποσειδώνος.[55] These boundary stones also cue cults maintained by the Athenian kleruchs, shown not by vocabulary so overt as Ἀθενῶν μεδεόσες or Ἀθένεθεν, but rather through use of the Attic dialect and Ionic script.[56] As such, they would have stood out on the traditionally Doric island, and served as reminders of the Athenian hegemons and their Atticized, if not Athenian, cults. *Horoi* similar to these Aiginetan ones, which marked new precincts planted in subject *poleis* by Athens, have turned up across the Classical Aegean, from Samos and Kos to Euboia.[57]

Rather explicitly, these *horoi* show that Athens was using distinctly Attic heroes and deities to manage land in conquered territories, territories that she now sought to control and exploit. But how, exactly, was Athens using these divinities to consolidate control over subject regions, and even profit economically from them? In other words, how did the installation of *horoi* to Athenian deities, which effectively made the *temene* Athenian, help control a subject territory? The answer lies in the precincts themselves, and how the plots of (self-declared) Athenian cults abroad essentially served Athens' interests at home. In particular, the Aiginetan *horoi* and the *temene* that they delimit have been the subject of recent study, many of which frame these boundary stones in relation to the Athenian kleruchy (i.e., Aigina soon after 431).[58] For years the nature of these Athenian *horoi*

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[53] Polinskaya 2009, pp.250-52; Osborne 2000, p.110; Parker 1996, pp.144-5; Smarczyk 1990, pp.70-1; Hornblower 1992, p.183.
[54] *IG* I^3 1492-95 (Athena); *IG* I^3 1496; *IG* I^3 1496. Dated to the second half of the fifth century (after c.440), following Samos' unsuccessful rebellion from Athens and the subsequent establishment of a kleruchy there. Also Thucydides' remarks on the dedication of temene to the gods after the installation of a kleruchy on Lesbos in 427 BCE: Thuc. 3.50.2.
[55] *IG* IV^2 798-801; IV 33-35; *IG* I^3 1483-5.
[56] Polinskaya 2013, p. 313; Polinskaya 2009.
[57] *IG* I^3 1491-1499, 1502. See Meiggs 1972, pp., 295, 298; Polinskaya 2009, p.252 esp. fn.101.
[58] Athens was actively involved in the affairs of Aigina from the entirety of 457-404 BCE. After 457 BCE, Athens defeated Aigina at sea and besieged the island; Athens then forced Aigina to give up her fleet, to pull down her walls, and to pay

puzzled scholars, and the debate has continued until quite recently.[59] As noted above, several of the *horoi* self-declare that they enclose *temene*; while a *temenos* was indeed a landed estate or precinct consecrated to a deity, it could function in two very different ways. It could either serve a cultic use, or an agricultural one; both types of *temene* were thus spaces designated as sacred to the gods, but were utilized to quite different ends (cult worship, or economic means). Though the theory that these horoi defined *temene* set aside for cult worship held weight for years (with some surprising adherents still, such as J. Mylonopoulos), these *horoi* are now more soundly understood as primarily economic in nature.[60] In other words, these *horoi* were installed by Athenian settlers during their occupation of Aigina likely between 431-404 to delimit the boundaries of newly parceled agricultural *temene*, which were leased out or rented. This interpretation had, in fact, first been proposed by Adolf Furtwängler back in the early twentieth century, and the debate should now be considered a settled one.[61] The findspots of the *horoi* vary widely, and have been found across the entire island; it is impossible therefore that the Aiginetan boundary inscriptions (18 of which are known) enclosed a single *temenos* for Athena, and a second for Apollo/Poseidon, as Barron suggested.[62] Rather, scattered across the island on account of the divvying up of land by the kleruchs, these sacred plots were leased out to raise revenue for Athenian cults based in Athens. They were accordingly given over to Athenian deities, such as Athena (compare, e.g., "Athena who rules over Athens" on Samos), whose treasury then received the money when the plot was leased

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tribute (Thuc. 1.105.2, 1.108.4; Hornblower 2004, p.222.) Aigina's fate was hardly surprising, rather, it reads like a Thucydidean epithet for the penalties imposed upon rebellious states throughout the course of the fifth century. Aigina then appears on the Athenian Tribute Lists between 454-449 BCE, and then reemerges from 444-432 BCE, when only a partial payment was made (*ATL* I, pp.218-219). In 431 Athens removed the entire population of Aigina, according to Thucydides, and sent Athenian settlers to take their place soon afterwards (2.27). Kleruchies did not also pay tribute, as noted above, so Aigina drops off the Tribute Lists in this year.

[59] That the precincts were cultic in nature, see Harland 1925, p.47; Welter 1954, cols.35-6; Amit 1973, p.48; Barron 1983, p.6; Figueira 1991, pp.115-118; Mylonopoulos 2003, pp.51-2. That the precincts were economical/agricultural in nature: Furtwängler 1906, vol.1; Mattingly 1996, n.7; Parker 1994; Smarczyk 1990, pp.118-9; Polinskaya 2009.

[60] *IG* IV 29-39. With earlier bibliography noted above, I believe that this debate can be laid to rest with Polinskaya's 2009 publication of all the Aiginetan *horoi* in their socio-historical and archaeological contexts.

[61] Barron was perhaps the most vocal challenger to the theory, who up-dated the *horoi* to the 450s on the occasional basis of three-barred sigmas and tailed rhos (as per the "orthodox" views of Meiggs 1966 and Walbank 1978, which insisted that the three-barred sigma and the tailed rho disappeared from public Attic inscriptions by 446/5 and 438/6 BCE respectively). Figuera (1991, pp.115-120) followed suit. Against, see Furtwängler 1906; Polinskaya 2009, p.232.

[62] Barron 1983, p.6; Polinskaya 2009, p.245.

out, rented, farmed, or taxed.[63] In the case of Mytilene, when Thucydides reports the partitioning of the 3000 precincts, he noted that of the total 3000, 300 were made sacred, and given over to Athenian deities.[64] Surely, this neat 10% figure was seen as something of a tithe—a literal tenth—dedicated to Athenian gods.[65] As portions of parceled land in the kleruchies were set-aside for Attic deities, the revenues from these overhauled cults would flow back into Athens; for example, an inscribed lease from 430-410 BCE records the leasing of *temene* on Euboia, at both Chalkis and Eretria, by the Athenian state to (presumably) Athenian kleruchs.[66] This practice of carving up and dedicating agricultural *temene* to Athenian deities was likely a usual step when establishing a kleruchy in a rebellious state. Irene Polinskaya notes that "[t]he dedication of temene in conquered territories was first and foremost an expression of Athenians' religious consciousness: a self-interested action aimed at keeping the Athenians in good standing with the same gods that were credited with insuring their success."[67] The dedication of conquered lands to Athenian deities would have also given Athens a secure, divinely-ordained claim to the land from which the precincts were parceled. Athens thus had a heavy hand in the cultic landscape of the territories that she came to occupy. She created new sacred precincts to Athenian gods, which were often leased-out; the income from the rental was then deposited in the Athenian treasuries of the titular deities. Accordingly, much of the revenue from these *temene* flowed back into Athenian coffers and helped finance Athenian cults.[68]

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[63] Polinskaya 2009.
[64] Thuc. 3.50.2.
[65] Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, pp.173-4—noting that this was in keeping with the gods' share—a tenth of one's profit in times of war or surplus.
[66] *Agora* XIX, p.171, L2. cf. the agricultural *temene* mentioned by Aelian (*VH* 6.1), and the corresponding *horos* stone, *IG* I^3 1502 (= *IG* XII 9.934)
[67] Polinskaya 2009, p.253.
[68] Smarczyk 1990, pp. 105-9 suggests that although the sacred plots belonged to Athenian gods, the kleruchs had use of some portion of the revenue from them to finances local cults. Regardless, one cannot help but think of the famous Athena Lemnia—the High Classical sculpture by Pheidias, which sat at the entrance to the Akropolis (Paus. 1.28.2). Dedicated by the Athenian kleruchs on Lemnos around 450, this statue embodied the aggressive policies adopted toward subject states. One wonders if it was commissioned from revenues collected from Athenian-controlled precincts on Lemnos, showing as it did a stolid, exacting Athena. This prominent dedication would surely have made an impression on Allies visiting Athens, serving as a warning of what could happen to tribute-paying states if they rebelled, while also showcasing the exploitative fruits of kleruchies back home in Athens.

As for the fate of local cults in territories newly subject to Athens, it seems that some of these sanctuaries were inventoried and their contents recorded, but that they were then left alone by the Athenian settlers, if not endorsed by them. Aigina's most prominent cult—that of the goddess Aphaia—was set in an extensive sanctuary with a deep history, with worship at the site dating back to the Bronze Age.[69] It seems that the new Athenian settlers did not try to disband this illustrious cult upon their arrival in 431 BCE; rather, the cult was allowed to persist but its cultic properties inventoried, and then recorded in a public inscription in the Attic dialect by the new Athenian settlers.[70] The same approach was taken with the cults of Mnia and Auxesia during the period of the Athenian kleruchy, and some have argued that the Athenian *temene* of Apollo and Poseidon (whose *horoi* were discussed above) were actually earlier, local cults adopted and perpetuated by the new Athenian settlers.[71] It seems that these Aiginetan cults, at least those of Aphaia and Mnia and Auxesia, were maintained by the Athenians during the period of the Peloponnesian War, and were possibly sites of more active religious worship by the settlers. This type of religious passivity, if not support, for extant local cults was clearly a separate approach from the new, Athenian imposed *temene* to Athena, which served an economic purpose with regard to rental revenues. The conclusion is thus not a neat or straight-forward one; Athens always involved herself in the local cults of newly subjugated territories, but to varying degrees. Sometimes local precincts were changed, and worship presumably altered or disrupted, but other times they were supported and endorsed by the new Athenian overlords; this latter relationship, which stressed receptivity toward and participation in local cults has been largely overlooked in earlier scholarship.

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[69] Pilafides-Williams 1998. Recent scholarship pushes for a Minoan presence nearby, if not at this same site: Tartaron 2013, pp.220-225; Gauß 2006, pp.435-446.
[70] *IG* I^3 1456. See also Polinskaya 2013, 117-344.
[71] *IG* I^3 1455 (Mnia and Auxesia). Smarczyk 1990, pp.120-9 (with reference to *IG* I^3 1483-5). Apollo and Poseidon summoned the Aiginetan hero Aiakos to help build the walls of Troy (Pi. *O* 8.30-6), and this could suggest the deities importance to the local island community, more so than to the new Athenian settlers. cf. Figueira 1991, p.118.

Athenian tolerance for local cults and sanctuaries may have been much more prevalent than previously thought, and a fruitful avenue for future study would be through the theoretical framework of hybridity. It is clear that new cults were always established by the Athenian settlers at the time of an overseas colonization.[72] These new, Athenian-imposed cults can also be approached with an eye toward hybridity—the extent to which the cults of the Athenian settlers, in other words, were "Aiginized" by local religious practices and their Doric worshippers, and vice versa. More generally this approach grew out of postcolonial analysis, which emphasized the equivocality and flux of identity intrinsic to any colonial encounter; Homi Bhabha's presentation of cultural interaction as a mutual process of modification, which often produced new, "hybrid" forms in the interstices of colonial contact provides a useful lens for examining new gods within the sphere of the Athenian empire.[73] Not only was Athens bringing her own forms of religious practice into the kleruchies, but Athenian settlers were also encountering and engaging with local shrines and cults, as well; the influence went both ways. This can be seen in one kleruchy about which we know some details concerning the adoption of non-Athenian (indeed, non-Greek!) forms of worship—Lemnos and its unusual, pre-Greek mystery cult, the Kabeirioi. Not only were Athenian kleruchs active initiates and participants in this Pelasgian cult, with *proedroi* recorded in the order expected of the Attic tribes, but *theoroi* were also sent to partake in the sanctuary's festivals by "the *demos* of the Athenians at Myrine," the island's second major town (also an Athenian kleruchy).[74] In their Lemnian kleruchies, Athenian settlers were thus active participants in the island's local cults and festivals, involving themselves in local cults and ritual but through an undeniably Athenian "structure," i.e., in due tribal fashion. We can presume, to varying degrees, that these kleruchies were points of impact between imported Attic cults and those long-established in the local pantheon; there was then a syncretization or blending of ritualized practices between the two Attic

[72] Parker 1994, pp.242-3.
[73] Bhabha 1993, 1994. For a useful application of this theory with regard to Greeks and "Barbarians," see Morris 2012, p.397.

and non-Attic religious communities in terms of ritual and cult practice.[75] This principal proves instructive for making sense of the territory of Oropos, also administered by Athens from the mid-fifth century through the Peloponnesian War (until 411 BCE), and its curious new shrine of the non-Attic Amphiaraos.

I also introduce the concept of religious influence being a two-way street in Athens' kleruchies because it seems possible that the Athenians first developed a taste for healing cults—especially that of Asklepios—in these settlements abroad, well before they were ever established on the Attic mainland. I suggest that the sanctuary of Asklepios on Aigina was, in fact, a prime site for such exposure and interaction with regard to cult practice.[76] The Asklepieion likely predated the Athenian settlement of 431 BCE, but like the cult of Aphaia continued on throughout the period of the kleruchy; it could have been the site at which many Athenians first encountered an Asklepieion, and experienced firsthand the benefits of an incubation cult. Likely hailing from Epidauros, due west across the Saronic Gulf, the Aiginetan Asklepieion was known and frequented by Athenian citizens at least by the year 422 BCE.[77] I admit that, other than a passing comedic reference in Aristophanes' *Wasps*—in which Athenians were traveling from the Attic mainland to Aigina in order to consult Asklepios' healing sanctuary—there is no hard evidence to support this suspicion; speculation, then, it shall remain. But the notion of Athenian participation in cult is congruous with Thucydides' discussion of Greek religious customs more generally, by which an area's local cults were usually respected by the newcomers to the region.[78] Cult was certainly an instrument of empire, a way of forging bonds between Athenian citizens and their non-Athenian subjects in

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[74] See Parker 1994, pp.344-5. Lemnos made a kleruchy around 500 BCE by Miltiades.
[75] This being the case more generally for the Athenian kleruchies of Chalkis, Eretria, Samos, Kos, Lemnos, Lesbos, et al. The case was likely different for Aigina, because Thucydides notes that the local Aiginetan population—men, women, and children—was entirely relocated before the Athenian settlers were sent in (Thuc. 2.27.1). Thus Aigina might not have seen the degree of hybridization as would an island where the local population was still actively present.
[76] On the evidence for the cult of Askepios on Aigina (the whereabouts of which are unknown in the archaeological record), see Polinskaya 2013, pp. 263-5.
[77] Arist. *Vesp.* 121-4; Fragoulaki 2013, pp.338-9.
[78] Thuc. 4.98.2; Parker 1994, p.342.

territories abroad;[79] yet for the individuals who went to live in these overseas settlements—Athenians planted abroad—there was surely a give and take of sacred practices and religious worship between the settlers and the settled. The larger question of relevance to Amphiaraos at Oropos and Athenian religion more broadly, to which these kleruchic case studies give voice, is what happened at these points of impact, these newly liminal sites where an established religious order (the Athenian founding state) encountered long-standing Greek cults, in presumably strained circumstances. New Athenian cults took root not on virgin soil, but within an extant Greek state that had long cultivated its own religious community of cult practice, deities worshipped, sacred festivals, etc. What happened "on the ground," so to speak, when these new Athenian cults entered a region long sacred to earlier Greek deities? Certainly the easiest path—when a settlement site already had a rich tradition of temples and worship—was that of least resistance. And so rather than neglecting or altering, for example, the major Aiginetan cults of Aphaia and Mnia and Auxesia, the new Athenian kleruchs inventoried the sacred properties of the cults, but knew better than to disrespect or desecrate them.[80] The Athenian kleruchs on Lemnos, who participated in the mysteries and initiations at the non-Attic, Lemnian Kaberion, are a clearer instance of what could transpire in these overseas settlements with regard to religious influence. The concept of hybridity, as it relates to religion in Athens' subject territories, is also helpful in understanding the cult of the non-Attic Amphiaraos, a cult that was established during the Peloponnesian War in an Attic-controlled territory.

1.1.2 Conclusion

It is clear that in the fifth century BCE, especially during the period of the *arche*, Athens was intervening in the religious affairs of subject regions, establishing *temene* and taxes, and cultivating

[79] Smarczyk 1990; Figueira 1991; Parker 1994.

new lands with an eye toward her own benefit. Athens was also bringing new cults into subject territories, and reaping revenues from the allocation of plots to Athenian deities. This strategy of cultic-intervention in conquered regions proves instructive for the goings-on in the Athenian-controlled region of Oropos during the Classical period (see Part 3.3). Just as Athens was delineating new religious precincts in subject territories, and bringing a special brand of Athenian deities into these areas, so too was she attempting to manage Oropos and assert her claim to a non-Attic territory. Discussed in greater detail in Part III, these alterations in the religious landscapes of conquered territories—as methods of securing, administering, and perhaps forging bonds within subject regions—were similar to the practices applied at Oropos, a region also "subject to Athens" during this period.[81]

Athens' cultic machinations in subject territories, and more general imperialistic dealings abroad, can help inform the sudden emergence of the healing cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos. While not a kleruchy, Oropos was a strategically important region, and a territory contiguous to Athens—perhaps not so dissimilar from Aigina during the Peloponnesian War. One reason for establishing a new healing sanctuary at Oropos, then, would be interest in defining a strategic border and controlling a trade channel, along with exploiting a resource-rich territory (as Athens was doing throughout the Aegean during this period). While this explains Athenian interest in harnessing the region of Oropos, and her use of a new cult to help structure and manage this territory, it does not explain why a *healing* cult was established. The emergence of healing cults was a phenomenon new to Attica during this period; to explain the appeal of these new health-focused cults, we explore some factors that affected contemporary concepts of health and well-being in fifth century Athens.

1.2 The Plague of 430-426 BCE

[80] Similar cultic inventories were produced on Samos in 346/5 BCE during Athens' fourth century cleruchy on the island; the practice of cultic inventories was known neither on Samos or Aigina prior to the implantation of Athenian settlements there, but was a widely familiar practice in Athenian cults.

This section explores the Athenian plague of 430-426 BCE, and its influence on contemporary Attic religion in general, and healing cults in particular. Though scholars have long connected the plague with the importation of the cult of Asklepios on the south slope of the Akropolis, more recent scholarship has downplayed the significance of the pestilence in bringing Asklepios' cult to Athens.[82] It is argued here, however, that the great Athenian plague and associated *miasma* did augment the appeal of Attic healing cults in a notable way—not only that of Asklepios on the Akropolis, but also several other new and contemporary cults devoted to individual health. The pestilence would have increased concerns over both health and the gods, and intensified the need for healthcare options. Evidence for the plague is accordingly synthesized and assessed: literary accounts (namely that of Thucydides), new archaeological evidence, epigraphic sources, and also later scholia. Finally, the ways in which the plague affected other Athenian religious cults are explored, as this helps contextualize the contemporary "healing cult phenomenon," discussed in Parts II and III of this project.

1.2.1 The Thucydidean Plague

In the second year of the Peloponnesian War, early in the summer of 430 BCE, Athens was overwhelmed by a devastating plague. According to Thucydides the epidemic was directly related to Perikles' wartime policy, which urged a defensive strategy of attrition rather than engagement on the homefront. In the face of the invading Peloponnesian army, Perikles forced Attic residents to flee the countryside, relocating *en masse* within the cramped Long Walls.[83] The plague, too, pressed its way into the crowded city. Amidst bodies packed like sardines, the pestilence incubated and grew stronger, afflicting Athens from 430-426/5 BCE. Yet Thucydides twice states that as late as 415 Athens had "only just recovered from the great plague"; either symptoms lasted beyond the

[81] Thuc. 2.23.3

year 426/5, or memory of the plague was sharp enough to trigger anxieties a decade later.[84] A silent assassin, the plague claimed the city's leading general, Perikles, after killing his two sons, his sister, and various relatives and friends.[85] Thucydides notes that in plague years alone, Athens lost over one-quarter of her frontline troops; the epidemic killed 4400 hoplites, 300 cavalrymen, and an unknown number of women, children, slaves, metics, and male citizens of the poorer, sub-hoplite classes.[86] Both an eyewitness to and a survivor of the epidemic, Thucydides describes in vivid detail how the sickness could turn a man into a sub-human sort of creature, whose "body externally was not so very hot to the touch, nor yet pale; it was of a livid color inclining to red, and breaking out in pustules and ulcers". Physicians assisting the sick fell victim to the disease themselves, during a time in which "the bodies of dying men lay one upon another, and half-dead creatures reeled about the streets."[87]

For all of the grisly, somatic details of this account, Thucydides' emphasis on the social and moral effects of the plague is no less chilling; he notes that the plague deeply affected the religious practices and beliefs of the Athenians. They lost hope in the abilities of mortal physicians to cure—and also in those of their ancestral gods, as supplications at sanctuaries and oracles went unanswered.[88] Traditional religious and burial practices were disregarded, as Athenians died inside temples and sanctuaries—sacred spaces—and their corpses were heaped-up haphazardly: "the sacred places too in which [Athenians] had quartered themselves were full of the corpses of people that had died there; for as the disaster passed all bounds, men, not knowing what was to become of them, became utterly careless of everything, whether sacred or profane."[89]

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[82] Scholars who associate the importation of the cult of Asklepios to Athens as related to plague: Burford 1969, p.20; Martin and Metzger 1976, pp.66-67; Mikalson 1984; Garland 1992, pp.130-132; Parker 1996, pp.175-185. Wickkiser 2008 downplays the effect of the plague (pp.64-5), as does Woodman 1988, p. 39.
[83] Thuc. 2.54.4-5.
[84] Thuc. 2.47; 3.87; 6.12.1, 6.26.2. See Mikalson 1984 for an in-depth discussion of these plague events.
[85] Plut. Per. 36.
[86] Thuc. 3.87.
[87] Thuc. 2.47-2.52.
[88] Thuc. 2.47.4
[89] Thuc. 2.52.3.

In addition to the rot of corpses, a moral decay had overwhelmed the city: "no fear of the gods, nor the laws of mortals restrained [the Athenians], for upon seeing that all were perishing alike, they judged that piety and impiety came to the same end."[90] In other words, Athenians saw no point in maintaining religiosity as the pious were dying alongside the impious, with no divine intervention for either; in the *do ut des* relationship that characterized Greek religion, the gods were silent—absent—and thus their worshippers came to be so, too. Care for the gods and "the sacred," the essence of Greek religious practice, was thus disregarded on account of the plague. With respect to the plague's physical and social effects, miasma had fully enveloped the city—and the state of desperation should not be underestimated.[91] All told, the somatic, social, and religious despair that overcame Athens was unparalleled, according to Thucydides, a first-hand witness.

I do believe that the plague was a significant factor in the establishment of new healing cults across Attica in the years between the Peace of Nikias in 421 and c.415 BCE, and that comparanda exist for this sort of cultic response to an outbreak of pestilence (albeit these sources are later than the fifth century BCE). Later historical sources reference the connection between plague and the importation of the cult of Asklepios; for example, Rome in 292/1 BCE was beset by pestilence and, in an effort to improve the city's lot, imported the cult of Asklepios from Epidauros in accordance with an oracle.[92] If the cult of Asklepios was imported from Epidauros to Rome in response to a devastating plague, as stated by several sources, why doubt a connection between the Athenian plague and the contemporary foundation of healing cults?[93] Aelius Aristides, furthermore, claims that Asklepios "cured him of plague," together with the goddess Athena.[94] Granted this was much later than the period in which this project is set (c.165 CE), but it nevertheless reveals an instance in which someone who had contracted plague went to Asklepios for healing, even if he was

[90] Thuc. 2.53.4.
[91] Parker 1983, pp.257-280.
[92] Livy, *Per.* 9; Livy, *Ab Urbe Cond.* 29.11.1; Val. Max. I, 8, 2; Ov. *Met*. 15.622-744; Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 3.171-3; August., *De Civ. D.,* 3.17.
[93] Which also came, interestingly enough, in accordance with an oracle as per the Telemachos Monument, *IG* II^2 4960.15-16.

something of a hypochondriac. And finally, the *Onirocritica*, the only dream-interpreting guidebook to survive from antiquity, connects Asklepios with plague. Its author, Artemidorus of Daldis, writes that Asklepios could essentially foretell sickness and plague.[95] Although this too is later than our period of focus, it is possible that a similar quality of Asklepios appealed to the Athenians in 420 BCE, having experienced themselves a recent plague and disillusionment with the tradition pantheon. Asklepios could portend future outbreaks of pestilence, in other words, while his cult afforded access to a specialized healer in the event of another epidemic. General anxieties about disease and health, as triggered by the plague, surely augmented the appeal of Attic healing cults during the Peloponnesian War.

1.2.2 The Plague in the Archaeological Record

For all of Thucydides' lurid, almost medical detail—which included an uncharacteristic aside attesting his personal experience in the crisis at hand—his narrative has come under scrutiny by modern scholarship. A leading scholar on the Classical cult of Asklepios in Athens, as well as Greek religion and medicine, B. Wickkiser questions whether Thucydides' account is an accurate or objective one: "it is worth nothing that the only direct evidence for plague in Athens in the 420s BC is Thucydides' account of it."[96] Further, she cites a passage from A. J. Woodman that states, "[d]espite the impression created by Thucydides of an unprecedented and major disaster, the plague has (perhaps surprisingly) left no trace at all on any independent piece of evidence or inscription."[97] Wickkiser adds support to this skepticism by comparing Thucydides' highly scientific account of the Athenian plague with the plague scene from Book 1 of Homer's *Iliad*, in which the Greek forces are beset by pestilence on account of Agamemnon's insolence toward Chryses; Thucydides' account, she then suggests, may analogously "serve as a foil for Pericles' funeral

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[94] *Or*. 48.37-45.
[95] …**νόσον** καὶ **λοιμὸν** μαντεύεται, Artem. *Onir*. 2.37.
[96] Wickkiser 2008, p.65.

oration vaunting Athenian accomplishments (Thucy. 2.34-47)."[98] The implication is that Thucydides' account of the plague is overly imbued with rhetoric, and meant to be seen in opposition to Perikles' hubristic funeral oration; in this capacity it was a less than reliable description of an actual historical event. Yet what is so frustrating about these scholars and their attempts to downplay the severity (or even reality) of the Thucydidean plague, is that they do not engage with evidence from material sources. In addition to Thucydides' literary narrative, a persuasive body of plague-related material has emerged in the archaeological and epigraphic record in recent (and not-so-recent) years. These sources work in tandem with Thucydides' account to suggest that the plague was truly a traumatic event, one that did indeed effect Athenian religion during the years of the Peloponnesian War.

First, an important archaeological discovery published in 2002 (several years before Wickkiser's book) links the Thucydidean plague with two contemporary mass graves in the Kerameikos.[99] The recovery was the result of rescue excavations undertaken for the construction of Athens' new metro system ahead of the 2004 Olympics. Extended excavations were held at the Kerameikos Station, near the cemetery comprising the modern archaeological site. These excavations were carried out between 1994-5, and unearthed two large mass burials: one in the northwestern edge of the Kerameikos cemetery, and another smaller one near the cemetery's center.[100] In the first larger mass grave, as many as 150 male and females bodies had been hastily dumped into a pit of irregular shape, measuring 6.5 m. long by 1.6 m. deep; it was this significantly longer than it was deep, and rather shallow for the number of bodies interred within. Unfortunately the uppermost levels had been disturbed by later intrusions, namely two fourth century BCE pits cut into the earlier grave's center. Still, the mass grave revealed more than five successive layers of burials, with bodies characterized by rapid, unsystematic interment in general. Males and females

[97] Wickkiser 2008, p.65; Woodman 1988, pp.39-40.
[98] Wickkiser 2008, p.65.
[99] Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, pp. 187-201. Baziotopoulou & Drakotou 1999, pp. 34-36.

were interspersed, their bodies usually extended in a disorderly manner; toward the upper level in particular, the bodies were essentially heaped atop one another. The bodies of eight infants in pot-burials were also found in the upper layer, suggesting that the child-burials were given a distinction that, in such dire circumstances, amounted nonetheless to interment in an anonymous grave.

The mass burial has been dated to the years of the plague, 430-426 BCE, on the basis of 30 small red-figure vases with established (if stylistic) chronological typologies.[101] The quality of these offerings were extremely poor, the quantity disproportionately few relative to the number of interred bodies; the crude vessels were found scattered among the bodies in the lower levels of the mass burial. Of particular interest were two red-figure *choes* depicting young boys playing with toys and dogs, and over 15 white-ground *lekythoi* carrying graveside scenes.[102] These modest grave offerings—again, disproportionate to the number of people interred— were found scattered among the skeletons; the body of a *pelike*, for example, was found 0.5 m. deeper than its lid, further revealing the haste with which the bodies had been dumped. In the lowest level of the pit, a minimal effort had been made to throw soil over the bodies, but after two layers this practice was abandoned, and corpses were heaped haphazardly one atop the other. This hurried burial mixed males, females, youths, and adults, into a single mass grave at a single moment in time; these bodies were deposited in haste, during a period of great suffering. The Greek archaeologists along with subsequent scholars have linked this mass interment to the plague of the 420s BCE on the basis of ceramics—and the frenetic interment does indeed seem to support such an assessment.

This grave is contemporary with a second mass burial that contained 27 adult bodies, also dating to the last quarter of the fifth century BCE on the basis of ceramic evidence.[103] This smaller grave, a rectangular shaft in the center of the Kerameikos, revealed adult inhumations in two levels, also disposed of hastily. This grave was even more sparse, with no offerings found; the date was

[100] Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002.
[101] Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, pp. 187-89.
[102] Kerameikos Museum, Inv. No. A 15284 & A 15272.

determined instead by the pottery sherds lining the bottom of the shaft, which comprised the original floor level of the communal tomb. Entirely lacking in grave goods, this second mass grave reveals even greater economy and haste, especially when compared to other Athenian mass burials of this period— namely those funded by the State for the war dead. State-sponsored tombs, cenotaphs or otherwise, usually came with elaborate *stelai* recording the names of the fallen, their Tribes, and heroic epigrams commemorating their bravery.[104] These mass graves from the Kerameikos, on the other hand, were nothing of the sort, carrying instead anonymous bodies interred in a haphazard manner. The forensic reports on the skeletal remains are still unpublished to the best of my knowledge, but should shed further light on the epidemic that fell these individuals and so devastated the city. These hastily-dug mass graves recall Thucydides' description of how Athenians, so overwhelmed by the plague, grew tired of lamentations and proper burials for their dead; they accordingly disregarded burial rites and mechanically heaped bodies atop other nameless bodies.[105] The despair of plague-ridden Athens thus seems evident in the archaeological record, too, and these findings should be considered alongside Thucydides' plague narrative in order to attain a thorough glimpse of this historical occurrence.

1.2.3 Effects of the Plague on Religion: Material Evidence and Later Scholia

The plague devastated Athens, robbing the dead of proper burial and igniting frustration with the traditional pantheon. Yet not all religious cults were adversely affected by the pestilence; some, concerned with health and individual well-being, experienced a flurry of activity during the years of the war and plague. In a survey of securely-provenanced Attic votive reliefs from the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, Carol Lawton discerned a correlation between dedications and cults that

[103] Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002, 190.
[104] Arrington 2015.
[105] Thuc. 2.52.

were "concerned with or affected by the war and plague."[106] Her study, which examined the resurgence of Attic votive reliefs during this period, suggests that these dedications reveal a changed religiosity in Athens beginning in the 420s.

One deity receiving a disproportionately large number of votives at this time was Asklepios, who received seven marble reliefs of secure attribution and provenance. Other major deities with cults in Athens, such as Zeus and Aphrodite, received only one or two dedications during this chronological window, in contrast.[107] Perhaps the simplest way to interpret this evidence is that-frustrated with divine impotence during the plague—Athenians turned their attentions to different sorts of cults during these years, namely those concerned with individual health rather than the civic cults important to the Athenian *polis*. The cult of Asklepios, established in Athens in 420/19 BCE, was indeed well tailored to these needs. Dedications suggest that very soon after the cult was established in Athens, Asklepios and Hygieia became popular recipients of worship. One votive relief, originally from the Piraeus but now lodged in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, depicts Asklepios, Hygieia, Epione, an Asklepiad, and a smaller, fragmentary male worshipper on the left (Fig. 4); as the figures are executed in a high Classical style, appearing thoroughly Parthenonian, the votive has been dated to c. 420 BCE.[108] The suggestion has been made, thoughtfully in my opinion, that early dedications such as this one could have been prophylactic in nature, aimed at deterring future outbreaks of plague or pestilence, in addition to serving as thanks-offerings for an individual's current health.[109] This relief joins a significant number of others to suggest that the new cult of Asklepios was very much in the hearts and minds of Athenians in the war-torn years following the plague. It would be difficult, of course, to prove that these votive reliefs were dedicated *on account of* the plague. Such an argument falls victim to circular reasoning, especially as the dating method is stylistic, based on the relief's similarities to the Parthenon and other architectural sculptures. But as

[106] Lawton 2009, p.67.
[107] Lawton 2009, p. 67.

a broader phenomenon they do suggest that, during the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, a number of Athenians were worshipping at cults that catered to the needs of individuals and households.

There is no doubt that the plague had an effect upon Athenian religion. As Thucydides states, it generated disillusionment toward the Athenian pantheon, and traditional worship and rites were curtailed. There are other subtler instances of the plague's influence on Attic cults and sanctuaries, such as the large number of votives received by Asklepios during the late fifth century BCE relative to other long-established Athenian cults. Additionally, at least two shrines in central Athens received new cult statues in response to bouts of plague. First, Pausanias writes that in front of the temple of Apollo Patroos in the Agora stood a statue of Apollo *Alexikakos*, which was dedicated during the plague: "[t]hey say that the god got this name since, in accordance with an oracle from Delphi, he stopped the pestilence afflicting the Athenians during the time of the war with the Peloponnesians."[110] Similarly, in the nearby deme of Melite the shrine of Herakles *Alexikakos* received a new cult statue in response to plague, according to the scholiast to Aristophanes' *Frogs* (Sch. *ad* 501).[111] No particular plague is specified in the account, but the scholiast writes that the cult statue was sculpted by the Argive Hageladas.[112] After the dedication of this cult statue, the scholiast notes, the plague subsided. In these two instances, we see that gods and heroes associated with the protection and well-being of individuals (evidenced by the "Alexikakos" epithet) received intensified worship and cult ritual during periods of plague in

[108] Lawton 2009, p.84. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek Inv. 1430. For an argument on why this piece did indeed come from the Piraeus Asklepieion, see Lamont 2015 pp.46-7 fn. 25.
[109] Artem. 2.37 with Lawton 2009, p.76. See also Aleshire 1989, p.41.
[110] Paus. 1.3.4.
[111] Mitchell-Boyask 2007, p.89; Woodford 1976; Kearns 1989 pp.14-15.
[112] The scholiast's chronology of this statue and sculptor is problematic, however, as we are also told that Hageladas was the teacher of Pheidias; it thus would be difficult to reconcile the dating of Pheidias' training with the plague of 430-426 BCE. Pliny writes that Hageladas reached his career acme between 432-429 BCE, which corresponds closely to the dates of the Thucydidean plague discussed above (*NH* 35.49-52). For problems with the date of Hageladas' floruit, see Stewart 1990, pp.247-8, which places him earlier in the fifth century BCE.

Athens; during epidemics, their cults experienced increased spurts of activity.[113] When examined together, both the material and literary records (increased votive reliefs, and later comparanda and scholia, respectively) show that periods of pestilence could bring about change in Athens' religious landscape—be it new cult statues, increased offerings to divinities concerned with individual health and protection, or the foundation of new healing cults.

1.2.4 Effects of the Plague upon Religion: Epigraphic Evidence

More can be said about the plague's effect on Athenian religious cults. As noted above, the plague first beset Athens in the summer of 430 BCE, when the invading Peloponnesian army forced the Athenians to relocate *en masse* within the cramped Long Walls.[114] When Perikles addressed the Athenians that same year, he described the plague as sent by the gods and, likely to some degree, Apollo in particular was considered responsible for the pestilence.[115] The Athenians undertook a number of measures intended to appease Apollo, and to procure his divine assistance; one major effort was focused upon Apollo's sanctuary on Delos.[116] In the winter of 426/5 BCE, Athens purified the entire island, the birthplace of Apollo and one-time center of the Athenian *arche*; it seems that this action was in response to the second major outbreak of plague, which occurred in the winter of 427-426 and lasted no less than a year.[117] The Athenian response was drastic, and betrays the mood of desperation that had befallen the city: all graves were removed from the island, all bodies

[113] Similarly, during the second century CE a group of cities in the Greek East—Pergamon, Hierapolis, Kallipolis, and two others—were hit by plague and in the midst of the epidemic sent to the oracle of Apollo at Klaros, in order to learn a course of action to end the disease. The oracle of Apollo prescribed a regime of ritual actions to halt the epidemic, one of which involved erecting divine images of Apollo as an archer in certain parts of the city (see Graf 2015, pp.514-5; Merkelbach and Stauber 1996, nos. 2,4,8,9). Though removed in time and place, the ritual actions taken by religious communities during a time of disease could be quite similar; the setting up of divine images was thought to be a significant recourse in the face of plague, and strengthens the case that cities in crisis would often intervene on a cultic level to ameliorate disease and pestilence.

[114] Thuc. 2.54.4-5.

[115] Thuc. 2.64.2. In the opening book of Homer's *Iliad*, it was Apollo's plague-bearing arrows that decimated the Greek camp and, similarly, it was Apollo alone who caused the plague to desist. Also in Sophokles' *Oedipos* the plague is loosed by Apollo on account of the religious pollution, *miasma*, befalling the city.

[116] Flower 2009; Mikalson 1984.

[117] Thuc. 3.87.

disinterred, and both death and childbirth prohibited from taking place there in the future.[118] These efforts were likely aimed at alleviating the *miasma* that had befallen the city, and were themselves purification measures of sorts. But even this was not enough; the Athenians also built Apollo a new temple on the sacred island of Delos, an expensive and meaningful gesture during a time of strain and hardship.[119] A state investment in an overseas building project of this scale is surprising, as the temples on Athens' own Akropolis sat unfinished during these years. Propitiating Apollo was, indeed, a top priority.

At this same time the Athenians overhauled and enlarged the quadrennial festival to Delian Apollo, which included the associated Delian games. In addition to age-old choruses and large-scale sacrifices, famous even before the composition of Apollo's *Homeric Hymn*, the Athenians added musical contests, gymnastic contests, and also horse racing.[120] While it is possible that this massive reorganization was (also) an attempt by the Athenians to establish their own Panhellenic festival to Apollo—rivaling that at Delphi[121]— Diodoros explicitly describes Athens' motivations as religious, and connected to the plague: "On account of the excessiveness of the disease, the Athenians ascribed the cause of the misfortune to the God. In accordance with a certain oracle, therefore, they purified the island of Delos, sacred to Apollo, which seemed to have been defiled by the dead buried there."[122] Dating to this period and corroborating this account is an altar (τοῦτον βωμόν) from Delos, dedicated by the Athenians to "Apollo the Healer and "Athena," found *in-situ*:[123]

τ̣ο̣[ῦτ]ον βωμ̣ὸν [Ἀθ]ῆναι Ἀπ[ό]λλωνός τε ἀνάθη[μ]α ⁝
Παιῶνος καὶ Ἀθην̣[αίας ⏑⏑ –⏑(?) ἐποί]ο̣ν̣ ⁝
πᾶς [δ'] ἐ̣[θων] ἀ[πὸ γ]ῆς ἄλλης ἢ Δήλιος ἴστω ⁝

[118] Thuc. 3.104.
[119]Bruneau & Ducat 2005, pp.183-4
[120] Flower 2009, p.6.
[121] Hornblower 1992, p.96; Parker 1996, pp.149-51; Price 2001, pp.220-2; Smarczyk 1990, pp.508-12 stresses the presence of Spartan ships in the Aegean as a motive, though Flower (2009 p.21) notes that there is no ancient source to support this claim.
[122] Diod. 12.58.6.
[123] *IG* I[3] 1468; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, p.191.

Κλεοτέλεος δ' ἔργ[ον –⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ –].[124]

Metrically inscribed in the Attic dialect with Atticized spellings (Ἀπ[ό]λλωνός), the connection between Apollo the Healer, the plague, and the Athenians' concern for their health and well-being is apparent. The dedication serves as a testament to Athenian concerns about health during the plague years, and shows how religious cults were activated and invoked by Athens between 430-426 BCE.[125]

1.2.5 Conclusion

Known from Thucydides' description in Book II of the *Histories*, the plague devastated Athens for almost five full years, affecting religious cults and institutions during and long after the 420s BCE.[126] This epidemic is attested both in Thucydides and the archaeological record, the latter forming a body of evidence overlooked by leading scholars such as Wickkiser and Woodman. While few would attribute the appearance of health-related cults solely to this Thucydidean *nosos*, it was surely a significant factor in the near-contemporary emergence of healing cults in Attica. The cult of Asklepios was brought from Epidauros to Rome in 291 BCE in response to a plague, and during the plague years Athens was building temples and overhauling festivals to placate Apollo on Delos. The correlation between an unprecedented, devastating plague and the sudden appearance of Attic

[124] "The Athenians made this altar, a dedication to both Apollo Paion and Athena…let all coming from a Delian land or some other land know! Kleoteleos…this work."
[125] The altar is dated to 426 BCE on account of the second inscription on the stone, presumed to be contemporary: IG I^3 1468 *bis*; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, p.191. Interestingly, Apollo Paion (Apollo the Healer) also occurs on an altar at Oropos, which he shares with the healer Amphiaraos. In addition to the expiatory measures taken by the Athenian state at Delos, there were also private Athenian initiatives that aimed at currying Apollo's favor—if not placating his ire. Plutarch describes how the general Nikias outfitted an extravagant chorus at the newly reorganized Delia festival. He also privately dedicated a bronze palm tree and a sacred estate; the revenues from this property went toward banquets, whose attendees were required to pray for Nikias' well-being (Plut. *Nik*. 3). Though this anecdote is not directly associated with the plague, it is possible Nikias' private dedications were prophylactic in nature; the sources portray him as a highly religious and superstitious man. These dedications—some of which have been found in the archaeological record—must have been made before the general left for Sicily in 415 BCE. Remember that, even as late as this year, the Athenians were claiming that they had only just recovered from the plague and the war (Thuc. 6.26.2; 6.12.1).
[126] Thuc. 2.47, 3.87.

healing sanctuaries was surely not a coincidence; a pestilence of such caliber was a threat to the entire *demos*, and triggered concerns over health and sacred matters.

The plague is considered something of a "trigger" in the rise of contemporary healing cults because it ignited individual concerns about health care; it also had a religious dimension in the concerns it raised over *miasma* on a city-wide level. The plague brought about change in the Athenian religious sphere: sanctuaries concerned with health and well-being received attention in the form of new cult statues, public and private dedications, and reorganized festivals and sacred spaces. The plague should be understood as *one of* the factors that led to the "burst" of healing cults in Athens more generally; in particular it surely played a role in bringing Amphiaraos to Oropos, and led to his unprecedented identity as a healing deity (before this time, Amphiaraos was not worshipped as a healing or medical hero). This new cult, in addition to three (if not four) of Asklepios, resulted in part from the demand for new healthcare options following the plague. With recent rescue excavations, and an examination of material and epigraphic sources, Thucydides' plague narrative can be situated in its broader historical context.

1.3 The Peloponnesian War and Depopulation: the *Polis* and the *Oikos*

The plague was a consequence of the larger Peloponnesian War, which created many casualties in and of itself. This section argues that the rise of Attic healing cults can also be understood as a social response to the strains of war, which caused physical injuries and, more broadly, ignited concerns over depopulation and well-being at the state, household, and individual level. I begin with what should be an obvious comment, but one that is often overlooked in scholarship on healing cults—namely that the cure narratives (*iamata*) from the Epidaurian Asklepieion reveal that Classical healing cults were treating wounds and injuries incurred on the battlefield. In one tale, for example, Antikrates of Knidos was,

> "hit by a spear through both his eyes in a battle; he had become blind and was carrying the spearhead around with him lodged inside his face. While sleeping [in the *abaton*] he saw a vision; the god seemed to him to draw the weapon out and fit the so-called "girls" (pupils) back into his eyelids. The next day he left healed."[127]

Similarly, Gorgias of Herakleia

> "was wounded in the lung by an arrow in a battle, and for a year and six months it was festering so badly that he filled sixty-seven bowls with pus. When he was sleeping in the shrine, he saw a vision. It seemed to him that the god drew out the barb from his lung. When day came he left well, carrying the barb in his hands."[128]

So too Euhippos, who

> "bore a spear in his jaw for six years. While he was sleeping in the shrine, the god drew the spearhead from him and gave it to him in his hands. When day came, he walked out well, having the spearhead in his hands."[129]

Along with several others, these narratives make clear that men suffering from war wounds, especially those hit with spears and arrows on the battlefield, would seek treatment in healing sanctuaries. Though instances of battlefield wounds are unknown from Attic healing sanctuaries—none of which preserve detailed lists of *iamata* like those at Epidauros—it seems likely that war injuries (lodged arrowheads and spears) could be treated in Attic healing cults just as they were at Epidauros. The Peloponnesian War lasted for 25 brutal years, and Athenians incurred all sorts of wounds and injuries as their policies became increasingly aggressive; in this capacity, the war could have directly fueled the appeal of Attic healing sanctuaries, as centers for the treatment of long-term battle wounds. And so, quite simply, the Peloponnesian War likely resulted in a surplus of injured and wounded Athenians, who would have then sought treatment for lodged spears and the like in the precincts of Asklepios or Amphiaraos. In this way the war was a direct agent that increased the appeal and popularity of new Attic healing sanctuaries.

For the remainder of this section, the ways in which the Peloponnesian War more broadly altered the social and religious fabric of late fifth century Athens are explored, primarily on account

[127] *IG* IV2 I 122.63-86 = B12 in LiDonnici 1995 (with adapted translation).
[128] *IG* IV2 I 122.28-51 = B10 in LiDonnici 1995 (with adapted translation).
[129] A12 in LiDonnici 1995 (with adapted translation).

of the War's high casualty rate and the fears triggered by population loss. In addition to weakening the Athenian state, depopulation ruptured the *oikos* unit and shifted social priorities, as the family unit came to take precedence over state interests in the wake of Periklean war policies. I understand these fears and shifting priorities to have cued a social response at the cultic level, meaning that religious cults concerned with individual and family health experienced increased attention and popularity, including cults associated with fertility and childbirth, as a means of replenishing a dwindling population and ruptured *oikos*. Healing cults served as prime examples of such responses, though the establishment or expansion of other cults concerned with childbirth, such as that of Artemis at Brauron, also fall within this category. Thus, I see the changing relationship between the *polis* and the Athenian individual as a central factor in the foundation of healing cults across Attica. In the retooled Athenian society of the late fifth century, new collectivities and vectors of cooperation formed around individuals and the *oikos*; this realigning of traditional *polis*-bonds augmented the appeal of cults promoting individual and family health.

1.3.1 Effects of Population Loss during the Peloponnesian War: Literary Sources

The literary evidence from the last quarter of the fifth century betrays Athenian anxieties over population loss, and the toll that these losses had upon the state, the family, and the individual. Depopulation, and the concerns resulting from it, would have strengthened the appeal of cults devoted to health and well-being. The war enervated the whole of Athens. Population losses were staggering; in Athens it is estimated that 43,000 male citizens died between 431-403 BCE.[130] Thucydides connects population loss to state concerns over childbirth; in his funerary oration, he has Perikles urge "it is necessary for those who are of the right age to be steadfast and take comfort in the thought of having other children." By this, he says, "the city will not be stripped bare, [but]

[130] Hansen 2006, pp.19-20.

have security."[131] At the funeral itself, the war dead would have made the risks and hardships of war instantly visible, and while Perikles' speech no doubt rallied the citizenry, it also called into question the decisions of the Athenian Assembly and its generals. One solution, it seems, was to shift the focus away from the dead and toward the living, with a public policy that encouraged childbirth and child-rearing as means of repopulating the civic fighting body.

Contemporary sources suggest that children were viewed as a salvation of sorts to this crisis, especially as future military replacements for lost soldiers. We hear that Athens' rebound and recovery in 415 BCE was attributed in part to a large number of boys reaching fighting age, ἡλικίας πλῆθος ἐπιγεγενημένης.[132] Whatever hopes the city had in 415, however, were soon dashed to bits in the harbor of Syracuse. After the failed Sicilian Expedition of 413 BCE, the population crisis was more acute than ever before, and fear gripped the Athenians on a daily basis (italics my own):

> "Everything from everywhere grieved them, and fear and astonishment, of the greatest degree, beset them. For they were grieving for the loss which both every man in particular and the whole city sustained, of so many men of arms, horsemen, and men of fighting age, *the likes of whom they saw were no longer left*, but seeing they had neither ships in their shipyards nor money in the common treasury nor rowers for their ships, were desperate at the time for their safety."[133]

Following this catastrophe, Athens was bereft of soldiers and rowers, not to mention ships and money, and this brought the *demos* great unease. Concerns about the dwindling population also seeped into contemporary comedy; toward the opening of Aristophanes' *Peace* (421 BCE), Trygaios moans to Zeus, "What do you have in mind to do for our people? Don't you see, you are depopulating your cities?"[134] Likewise, the chorus in Euripides' *Ion* laments childlessness, claiming that the young are the hope for future generations—their country's shield and protection.[135] Finally,

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[131] Thuc. 2.44.3.
[132] In more detail, Thuc. 6.26.2: "The city had by this time recovered from the pestilence and from their continual wars, both in number of men fit for the wars, grown up after the ceasing of the plague, and in store of money gathered together by means of the peace."
[133] Italics my own. Thuc. 8.1.2.
[134] The verb that I translated as "depopulating," ἐκκοκκίζω, literally means to pluck out kernels or seeds (σεαυτὸν τὰς πόλεις ἐκκοκκίσας), Arist. *Pax* 62-3.
[135] Eur. *Ion* 472-91.

a fragment of Euripides' *Erechtheos*, produced at the City Dionysia in 422, also ties the bearing of children to the safeguarding of the homeland, glorifying childbirth to a considerable degree:

> "If there were in our household male offspring instead of female, and the fire of war occupied the city, would I not be sending my son into battle with the spear, because I feared that he might die? May I have children who fight and are foremost among men, and not just figureheads in the city! Mothers who send their children off to battle with their tears make men behave like women as they set out for war. I detest women who instead of honor prefer that their children remain alive and approve of cowardice."[136]

Like their male counterparts who fought in the phalanx or rowed in the fleet, Athenian woman and the *oikos* unit also suffered under the strain of the Peloponnesian War. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, women took husbands and gave birth to sons who went off to fight in the war; their homecoming was never guaranteed, and as numerous Tribal casualty lists suggest, often these soldiers never returned alive.[137] The war created a dearth of husbands and a surplus of widows; the fortunate ones, Lysistrata notes, were those young enough to remarry.[138]

In an important 2009 article, Lisa Kallet suggested that the conflicts leading up to the Peloponnesian War disrupted domestic life, and irreparably fragmented the Athenian *oikos*. Especially during the *Pentakontaiteia*, state burials of the war dead ultimately removed fallen warriors from the realm of the family, instead making their interment within the *demosion sema* a state affair; previously this had been the responsibility of women, and one of the most important rituals of the *oikos.*[139] Yet the 420s saw the reemergence of private grave monuments for the first time since the post-Persian War period; these new grave *stelai*, in addition to large numbers of white-ground *lekythoi*, reveal a sort of "reclaiming" of burial rights at the household, or family, level. Their appearance during this period can be explained in part by "a growing concern among

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[136] Eur. *Erech.* Fr. 50 Austin= Fr 360 N. From Lykourgos, *Against Leokrates* 100.
[137] Arrington 2015, pp.91-124.
[138] Arist. *Lys.* 574-96.
[139] Usually the female relatives of the deceased conducted the elaborate burial rites that were composed of three parts: the prothesis (laying out of the body, during which friends and relatives came to mourn and pay their respects), the ekphora (funeral procession), and the interment of the body or cremated remains of the deceased.

Athenians to return to the family's interests above all, and to put the polis' interests second."[140] Kallet notes that Athenians— so changed by the war's death toll, and at having to desert their country homes, farms, and shrines to relocate within the Long Walls— accordingly reevaluated and readjusted their views on civic responsibility. Private concerns became more important during the 420s, and came to outweigh the primacy of the *polis* and the needs of the state. This readjustment found voice in Thucydides' Nikias, whose speech betrays this social reconfiguration with regard to the values of a "good" citizen: "I believe that a person is just as good a citizen who looks out for his own person and property first; for such a man would want the affairs of the city to prosper on account of himself."[141]

A citizen's relationship to the *polis* was, in other words, no longer a subsidiary or deferential one by the 420s; the havoc wrought upon the citizenry by the war, especially with regard to depopulation and the breakdown of the *oikos* unit, led to a reshuffling of social priorities. This realigning of the traditional *polis*-bonds, I suggest, augmented the appeal of cults promoting individual and family health. The placing of individual or family interests before those of the *polis* was the opposite of what Periklean policy had advised, with its abandoning of personal property, rural shrines, and ancestral tombs. When viewed against this background, it is easier to understand why leaders like Kleon rose to prominence; these sorts of demagogues presented themselves as having an eye toward the concerns of Athenian individuals, and were accordingly able "to tap into the citizenry's increasing need for tangible compensation for their privations in the face of continuing war, where advocated by a persuasive speaker."[142] These new sorts of politicians were also a byproduct of the war—a response to the realigning of relations between the *polis* and the individual. It was this atmosphere, which privileged the concerns of the *oikos* and the individual, that likely also increased the appeal of healing cults.

[140] Kallet 2009, p.112.
[141] Thuc. 6.9.2.

Healing cults focused on the well-being of individuals and families, and both votives and inscriptions from the Athenian Asklepieion reveal that family groups, most notably women, formed a majority of dedicators.[143] In Athens and beyond, worshippers could visit healing sanctuaries not only for health concerns, but also more general matters of well-being that were important to individuals and families; in this sense Asklepios and Amphiaraos could serve as broader "savior" heroes, as well as specialized healers. One personalized votive from the Asklepieion on the Akropolis, for example, notes that it was gratefully dedicated to Asklepios by a man "saved from the wars and ransomed and freed";[144] another was offered to Asklepios by Hegemachos, δεινὰ παθὼν καὶ πολλὰ [ἰ]δὼν σωθεὶς.[145] A third inscribed votive from this sanctuary conveys the intimate gratitude of a muleteer—portrayed in a pointed cap with an unassuming wagon—to Asklepios for saving him from a fall of rocks.[146] These personal narratives reveal the appeal that new healing heroes held to individuals and families, in treating specific health issues but also in their broader soteriological functions. Both of these competencies work well with Kallet's argument, which posits a shift from Perikles' "*polis*-first" policy to a post-Periklean concern for personal and family-based interests, which she sees as a by-product of the Peloponnesian War.[147] The losses incurred by the war also changed outlooks on religious practice, as cults and rituals that privileged the interests of the family took on greater importance. Taken together with the above sources, it seems that the Athenians were very much concerned with war and population loss during the late fifth century, and the demands of Periklean policy led to a reshuffling of attitudes toward the *polis* and the individual. This shift in social priorities can, I believe, also be discerned in the archaeological

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[142] Kallet 2009, p. 112. One wonders whether any Op-Eds have yet compared the speeches of Donald Trump to those of Thucydides' Kleon..?

[143] Aleshire 1989, though this was drawn from fourth century records. For votive relief depictions, see van Straten 1995, n.59-65.

[144] *IG* II2 4357, before the mid fourth century: [— — σ]ωθεὶς ἑκ <τ>ῶμ πολέμων καὶ λυτρωθὲς | — — ων ἐλευθερωθὲ[ς ἀνέθη]κεν.

[145] *CEG* 755, 400-350 BCE? "Hegemachos dedicated, having suffered and seen many and terrible things, was saved." cf. Hom. *Od.* 1.3-4; Parker 1996, p.183.

[146] On display in the new Akropolis Museum, the votive was recently reassembled from Athens NAM 1341, EM 8754, and Acr. Mus. 7988, see *LIMC* s.v. Asklepios, 890, no.395.

[147] Kallet 2009.

record—an expression that included, but was by no means limited to, the sudden appearance of healing sanctuaries. When paired with Kallet's argument and the literary sources concerning the war's casualty toll, seemingly disparate phenomena from the period can be synthesized under this theme.

1.3.2 Effects of War and Depopulation in Attic Sanctuaries: Brauron

Concerns about depopulation, and the resulting shift in social priorities—especially the new focus on the *oikos*—had an effect upon other Athenian cults, too, along with religious festivals. One major sanctuary affected by these concerns was the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. In the broadest sense, the sanctuary was important to the well-being and protection of the Athenian *demos*;[148] more specifically, Artemis oversaw the affairs of women and girls, especially during their transition from childhood into adulthood.[149] The sanctuary is accordingly flush with dedications depicting Athenian youths—the majority girls but also several boys—which underscore the goddess's role as a protective, kourotrophic figure involved in the health and well-being of children.[150] Evidence for rituals involving young girls is particularly evident on a special type of pottery found in the sanctuary, the *krateriskos*; distinct in shape, fabric, and iconography, these small black-figure cups date from the sixth through fourth centuries BCE, and carry scenes thought to depict sanctuary ritual: girls running and dancing, altars, libations, and palm trees, the latter referencing Artemis' ties to Delos (Figs. 5-6).[151] It seems clear that these vessels played a role in sanctuary ritual; the iconography is so partial to young girls that they were likely used during coming of age rituals

[148] See *SEG* 52 (2002), 104. This inscription, dating to the late fourth century BCE, lists many buildings and features of the sanctuary at Brauron, including unknown and unexcavated buildings, such as "the Parthenon," the gymnasium, and palaistra. Importantly, the inscription notes that "having built them all, the *polis* dedicated them to the goddess Artemis on behalf of the salvation of the Athenian demos." This inscription ties the sanctuary's soundness and well-being (the term for 'health' is also used) to its city's salvation.

[149] Vikela 2008, pp.79-87. Young Athenian girls served as Artemis' attendants at Brauron; they lived in the sanctuary and participated in dances, races, and sacrifices.

[150] Although a virgin goddess herself, Artemis also had ties to the fertility sphere, as revealed by votive models of female genitalia dedicated at the shrine of Artemis Kalliste, *en route* to the Academy (Paus. 1.29.2 and Vikela 2008, p.80.) Relatedly, the goddess was the protectress of newborns, having helped her mother Leto deliver her brother Apollo on Delos (Vikela 2008, p.80).

within the sanctuary—some *krateriskoi* even contain traces of ash inside, and possibly held incense.[152] We also know that Artemis in her sanctuary at Brauron frequently received clothing dedications, offered by women after pregnancy and successful childbirth.[153] The sanctuary was thus bound up in the most important rites of passage for Athenian women, including marriage, pregnancy, and childbirth. We have explored how women's service to the state was thought to include the birthing and raising of children as a means of replenishing a dwindling population during the years of the Peloponnesian War; perhaps it is in reference to these concerns of population loss—and the important role played by women in renewing the depleted citizenry—that we can understand the sanctuary's massive expansion around 420 BCE, which aimed to create new spaces for ritual activity, and increased accommodations for worshippers.

Corresponding to the years of the Peloponnesian War and on the heels of the plague, the reorganization of sacred space in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia primarily comprised a large-scale building project. A large stoa was constructed at this time over an earlier building (previously destroyed, possibly by the Persian invasion of 480).[154] The stoa was pi-shaped in plan and surrounded by Doric columns; nine small, square rooms were built into the northern and western sides, facing out onto an open peristyle court (Fig. 7-8). The rooms were presumably used for

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[151] Kahil 1963, 1965.

[152] Kahil 1963, pp. 25-6, no.56; Kahil 1977, p.88 & 806. Ekroth 2003, p.65. One wonders whether there was a 'bulge' in the number of *krateriskoi* dedicated at Athenian sanctuaries of Artemis during the last quarter of the fifth century BCE; it is shown below that another ritual vessel associated with the maturation rites of (male) children, the chous, experienced a surge during these years. Can these newly articulated interests in the family, and concerns for the next generation of children— so vital to the future of the city— be discerned through increased dedications at Brauron, Mounychia, and elsewhere? This is a tantalizing possibility, one that will remain unclear until the sanctuary's final excavation report (which includes the ceramics) is produced.

[153] Vikela 2008, p.85. Surprisingly, these inscriptions are known not from Brauron but rather from the Athenian Akropolis (likely from the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia), and are purported to be duplicates of the records excavated, but never published, from Brauron. Many of the inscriptions date to the late Classical period, and include only women's names, independent of their husbands, with no patronymic or demotic. These clothing inventories have been called the "female analogue of inscribed lists of office-holders" (Cleland 2005, xii), recording the "completion of the full cycle of rituals to produce an adult woman." Inventories of dedicated garments were drawn up in true democratic fashion on marble stelai, considered important enough to copy and store in two separate sanctuaries of Artemis (at Brauron and on the Athenian Akropolis). The lists are impressive both in regard to the detail (type of garment, type of fabric, etc.) and sheer quantity of the dedications. These inscriptions provide a window into a rich, thriving sanctuary, whose buildings were bedecked with the clothing, jewelry, ceramics, and sculptures of their female worshippers.

[154] Ekroth 2003; Vikela 2008.

ceremonial dining, as each was outfitted to hold 11 dining couches.[155] The south side of the complex was left open, to allow communication with a new temple of Artemis, which was also reorganized and rebuilt at this time.[156] With the construction of these two major buildings, the space available for ritualized activities increased dramatically, as worship and communal dining space expanded to accommodate increased numbers of visitors.[157]

With these major construction projects, it is clear that the Athenian demos devoted great resources to expanding and enriching the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. Like Asklepios, Artemis was another deity who received a disproportionately large number of votive reliefs between c.420-410 BCE, according to Carol Lawton.[158] The cult of Artemis at Brauron likely appealed to individual Athenians for similar reasons as did Attic healing cults—namely the personalized attention to (and protection of) women and children during the crises of the late fifth century BCE. Triggered by the events of the Peloponnesian War, Athenian concerns over depopulation and the resultant "inward shift" in focus toward the family were likely factors in this major expansion and reorganization of sacred space; it suggests increased worship and ritual activity. The state-sponsored building program at the Brauronian sanctuary of Artemis, a deity concerned not only with motherhood and childbirth, but also the salvation of the city as a whole, emerges in the archaeological record during the last quarter of the fifth century BCE—right when healing cults were emerging across Attica.

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[155] Travlos 1988, pp.55-80; Themelis 2002, pp.103-116; Despinis 2004, pp.261-315. These are among the best recovered examples of Greek dining rooms, complete with offset doorways, elevated zones for couches against the walls, notches cut in the floors to stabilize the feet of the couches (some retaining traces of lead joinery), central stone tables, and bronze door pivots and stoppers. This huge stoa complex also included a propylon on the western side, providing a monumental entrance for visitors after they had crossed the new bridge over the sacred spring, entering the sanctuary from the west. The bridge over the spring and Erasinos river also dates to this new phase of construction. It consisted of large limestone slabs set on a series of parallel walls set into the streambed. Wheel ruts can still be seen today, attesting the popularity of the sanctuary in ancient times (Bouras 1967, pp. 141-8; Camp 2001, p.279).

[156] Bouras 1967, 141-8, figs. 12, 106; Lawton 2009, p.80.

[157] Behind the pi-shaped stoa, and likely conceived together with it, was a shallow, elongated courtyard, attached to the stoa but entered separately through doors on the east and west ends. Inside were 12 octagonal columns; set between these columns on the floor were 37 slabs with indents, probably for holding wooden planks for clothing dedications, of which we know the sanctuary held many (Camp 2001, p. 279. Ekroth suggests that the slabs held whitewashed wooden announcement boards, on which would be written sanctuary announcements, and information about the cult's participants (the names of Arktoi, e.g.). However, although she mentions other sanctuaries in which wooden boards were known to have accommodated the names of worshippers, none of these resemble anything architecturally close to the 37 bases at Brauron. I think it is much more likely that these slabs held wooden boards uniquely designed to hold suspended clothing offerings, like Bouras and others have suggested.

1.3.3 War, Depopulation, and Ritual Practice: the Evidence from *Choes* and *Lekythoi*

Another way in which the Peloponnesian War, and resultant concerns over depopulation and the family unit, can be seen to have affected Athenian religion was in the realm of "personal" ritual practice, as evidenced by specialized ceramic vessels.[159] Two types of ceramics produced in Attica and used in religious festivals and graveside ritual, *choes* and white-ground *lekythoi*, both show a proliferation in the archaeological record during the years of the Peloponnesian War. It seems that the spike in these specialized vessels corresponds to an increase in personal ritualized activity at this time, both in the public and private realm (by way of Athenian festivals, and more personal moments of graveside ritual, respectively).

First, there was a proliferation of small *choes*, or "Oinochoe III Jugs," during the late fifth century BCE (Fig.9); building upon the work of earlier scholars, this data was masterfully collated by Greta Ham in an article entitled, "The Choes and Anthesteria Reconsidered: Male Maturation Rites and the Peloponnesian Wars."[160] The material presented below is synthesized from Ham's work. The project is entirely hers, I merely connect this "surge," related to male maturation rites, with my investigation of changes and innovations in religious ritual during the late fifth century BCE.

What exactly were *choes*? *Choes* were small ritual drinking vessels, usually plump in shape with a smooth profile and trefoil mouth (Fig. 9); they were used during the Anthesteria festival for the drinking of wine, and have emerged in significant quantities from grave and votive contexts.[161] The small *choes* under consideration here carried images of children—almost exclusively young boys—adorned with amulets, apotropaic bracelets, and sometimes wreaths. Foodstuffs are often

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[158] Lawton 2009, pp.84-5: five votive reliefs.
[159] On this concept of "personal religion" see now Kindt 2015, pp. 35-50.
[160] Drawn from her dissertation: Ham 1999 *passim*; Ham and others classify "small" and "miniature" *choes* as those vessels 13 cm and under (Ham 1999, p.201).
[161] Ar. *Ach.* 1000-1003; 1134; 1202. Green1971; Hamilton 1992; Moore 1997, p.41; Ham 1999; Neils and Oakley 2003, pp.145-147; Schmidt 2005, pp.152-55.

depicted, along with small animals, toys, and even an image of the *chous* itself, also wreathed on occasion. This unique iconography has been interpreted by many as a sort of escapism—a reversion to happy, quiet images of children during a time of great brutality and duress; Ham interprets these *choes* as referencing maturation rites, aimed at ensuring the boys' survival and thus replenishing the future citizen body.[162] In studying these vessels and their boy-centered iconography, scholars noticed a very brief but intense floruit for these specialized jugs: production seems to have accelerated around 425 BCE, and died off rather abruptly at the end of the fifth century.[163] Over 80% of miniature *choes*, ritual vessels given to Athenian boys at the age of three as a gesture of their coming of age, date to the late fifth century; in other words, unlike larger *choes*, which were used in the Anthesteria festival from an early date and show continued production over the centuries, miniature *choes* have a very brief lifespan that corresponds to the years of the Peloponnesian War, when population loss was most rampant.[164] During these years Athens was suffering staggering population losses, especially among the adult male citizenry. The surge in miniature vessels, then, can be understood as a cultic response to a social crisis.[165]

The social role of the *chous* in boys' coming of age rituals also fits with Kallet's posited shift toward the prioritizing of the family unit (though children were, of course, also an interest of the state). Because of the perceived tie between citizenship and participation in the Choes-day of the Anthesteria festival, these miniature vessels could reference the future renewal and survival of the citizen body through the focus on male children, along with the preservation of the household[166]—alert readers might even recall that two such *choes* were included within the larger mass burial

[162] Ham 1999, pp.201-6.
[163] Green 1971; Hamilton 1991; Ham 1999, pp.201-6.
[164] Ar. *Thesm*. 740-747; *IG* II/III² 13139: ἠλικίης χοικῶν | ὸ δὲ δαί[μων] ἔφθα-|σε τοὺς Χοῦς. Issues of dating and provenance obviously must be disentangled to forge this connection; for this, see Hamilton 1992, p. 69, 118; Ham 1999, p.201; Green 1971, pp. 189-228. I note here that during my years working in the Athenian Agora, the new miniature *choes* found in stratigraphic contexts could consistently be dated to the late fifth century BCE.
[165] Ham 1999, p.211.
[166] Kallet 2009.

from the Kerameikos, which dated to the plague years.[167] Although the Anthesteria festival and the *Choes* ritual continued for centuries, the production of small *choes* ceased in the early fourth century, thereby mirroring the worst period of Athenian political and social tumult. As evidenced by the burst in small *choes* in Athenian graves, sanctuaries, and shrines, social responses to the hardships of the war found outlet in contemporary religious ritual. Like the late fifth century rise of Attic healing cults, and the state-sponsored building activity at Brauron and Delos, the profusion of *choes* can be understood, at least in part, as a response at the cultic level to the staggering depopulation caused by the Peloponnesian War and associated crises.

Likely as part of the same social response, depictions of children in Athenian art prevail during these years, not only on *choes* but also funerary vases such as white-ground *lekythoi* and grave monuments.[168] The production of white-ground *lekythoi* begins around 470 BCE, but by the last quarter of the fifth century the *lekythoi* frequently bear scenes of children—more frequently, in fact, than in all decades prior. This change, i.e., the iconographic privileging of children on a familiar ritual vessel, was also likely indicative of concerns for health, depopulation, and the affairs of the family unit. Similarly, about 40% of all sculpted gravestones between 430-400 BCE depict children; John Oakley connects this interest in the portrayal of children with loss of life during the plague and the war. He provides a historic parallel from World War I France which, like fifth century Athens, was severely affected by population loss due to a low birthrate and shrinking male population (10%).[169] During this fraught time, political reforms were enacted to encourage women to produce more children; literature and the arts were impacted, too, by population loss and the new importance placed upon children and reproduction. Books were published on the subject, new organizations were created to encourage childbirth, and medals awarded to mothers with large

[167] Ham 1999, p.202. Ham also stresses how the *Choes* festival, in its relationship to the later symposium, anticipates future adulthood and draws attention to boys' prospective role as citizens (pp. 211-13). I wonder whether any sort of similar trend can be observed in the *krateriskoi* predominantly found in sanctuaries to Artemis, thus paralleling for young girls what we see happening with *choes* for young boys in the late fifth century.
[168] Oakley 2009, pp. 207-235.
[169] Oakley 2009, p.220-5.

numbers of offspring. In the arts, children headlined museum exhibitions, and artists were commissioned by the French government to create works with children's themes, some of which were hung in schools and city halls.[170] Children were understood to be—and represented as— the future of the nation, and the future solution to a present crisis. This historical analogy provides a helpful, if removed, parallel for Athenian society in the late fifth century, as seen through the wartime-surge in grave monuments and vases depicting children. The same fears of dissolution on a national scale, triggered by low birth rates and population loss, found an outlet in the arts, which also provided a forum for expressing the importance of children through iconography; though it seems to me that in the case of Athens, these concerns were expressed at the family level, as no centralized state government was commissioning these *choes* and *lekythoi* (as drove the production of these arts in France). Regardless, it is clear that concerns triggered by population loss found expression in the Athenian arts, in depictions of youth and children on ritualized vessels. This shift in iconography also betrays the new, war-induced focus on the family unit, and can accordingly be understood alongside the surge in *choes*, the expansion at Brauron, and the rise of new Attic healing cults.

1.3.4 Conclusion

The Peloponnesian War ruptured Athenian society; it produced a great number of casualties, and entirely disrupted the *oikos* unit. The magnitude of the crisis, which threw Athenian society into disarray, should not be understated. Male citizens—both soldiers and rowers—were absent for long intervals; many died on campaign, and women went both husband- and child-less during this period. Concerns related to population loss are referenced in several literary sources of the period. The war depleted and enervated the citizenry, ignited anxieties over male casualties, widowed women, reduced birthrates, and shifted the place of the *oikos* within Athenian society. These

[170] A large quantity of children's books, posters, postcards, and magazines, all with the goal of glorifying children and

concerns found partial expression in a range of "religious" outlets: there was an increase in individual ritualized activity related to male coming-of-age rituals (*choes*), iconography in visual media favored depictions of children (in *lekythoi* and funerary monuments), and building activity was undertaken in sanctuaries concerned with health and childbirth, such as that of Artemis at Brauron. It seems that these same anxieties, brought about by rampant population loss, would have also augmented the appeal of Attic healing cults, which also appear during these wartime years. It has been shown by Sara Aleshire that the Akropolis Asklepieion had a predominance of female dedications by the mid-fourth century BCE;[171] the appeal of Asklepios and other healing deities to (particularly female) worshippers can also be understood as related to the prioritizing of the interests of the *oikos* above those of the state.

Thus during and after the Peloponnesian War, new Athenian cults like those of Asklepios and Amphiaraos were quite attractive on account of the personalized care they afforded both the individual and the household. They were directly concerned with the well-being of everyday Athenians, during a trying and tumultuous time period. Indeed, it is striking how frequently the *oikos* unit—as an entire household group—is depicted on Classical marble votive reliefs dedicated to Asklepios and Amphiaraos. Time and again, mothers, fathers, children, and even slaves process toward the healing hero and his altar, often with a tethered animal for sacrifice.[172] Those who worshipped within these new healing shrines chose to portray the family unit on their votive-offerings, underscoring the importance of these healing heroes for the well-being of the household. They suggest, too, that these new healing shrines were utilized by families, and that visiting a healing shrine could often be a communal, group activity. Rather than linking the foundation of a single Attic healing cult to Athenian imperialism—or to the plague for that matter—we should

motherhood, also appear during this time of war and depopulation.
[171] Aleshire 1989.
[172] van Straten 1995, n.59-65.

approach all of the new Attic healing cults as a related phenomenon, one intended to address social fears about war, population loss, and the health and well-being of both individuals and families.

1.4 Hippocratic Medicine and the Rise of Attic Healing Cults

There were surely numerous factors at work within Athenian society that helped trigger the burst in healing cults during the late fifth century, though some had a greater proportionate effect than others. The Peloponnesian War was a great strain, and with it came plague and depopulation. Athens used certain cults and sanctuaries as a way of managing her empire, with implications for the way we understand cults like that of Amphiaraos at Oropos, and even Asklepios with its Epidaurian origins.[173] Another contemporary catalyst that served to raise interest in health was the composition and consolidation of the medical theories that came to be included within the Hippocratic Corpus. Perhaps due to modern, anachronistic notions that differentiate subjective religion from objective science, only recently has Hippocratic medicine been considered alongside select cults of Asklepios.[174] In fact, there was no sharp division in ancient Greece between scientific and religious medicine; this split was imposed by rationalists of the nineteenth century, not Classical Greek physicians or priests.[175] The major fault line in ancient Greek perceptions of medicine—both notions of healing and disease—was not between "temple medicine" and "scientific medicine", but rather between the view that illness was divinely sent or triggered, and the belief that disease was embedded in natural causes, and could unfold according to the laws of nature.[176] For adherents of the latter faction, physicians like Hippokrates and philosophers like Anaxagoras, the teacher of Perikles, the place and power of the gods was never in doubt; for example, when the iatric *techne* fell short of the proper cure, prayers, vows, and sacrifices within sanctuaries could be

[173] Mikalson 1984; Wickkiser 2008.
[174] Wickkiser 2008, pp. 14-32; Gorrini 2005, esp. 141-145; Nutton 2004, pp.113-115.
[175] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, for example, had seen the rise of Asklepios sanctuaries as a sign of Greek decadence (1931/2 II, p.229). The Edelsteins can be credited with attempting to unravel this entrenched framework; their in depth study of thousands of sources led them to believe that there *was* no division between scientific medicine and healing cults, like those of Asklepios (1945).

prescribed by physicians.[177] This section aims to collapse the study of what have been categorized as "scientific" and "religious" medicine by showing these boundaries to be artificial and fluid, as approaches to healing were shared and similar within Classical healing cults and contemporary medicine.

During the fifth century, theories of illness and the practices employed in the burgeoning craft of medicine were not just spreading—they were opening up what had once been a restricted set of principals and practices, privy to only a few. Like the flurry of healing cults that appeared in Athens, contemporary Greek medical writings reveal a social interest in the alleviation of suffering through the diagnosis and treatment of human illness. This section explores emergent notions of illness and treatment evident in the medical writings that came to comprise the Hippocratic Corpus. The role of doctors in Classical Athens—both their approaches toward disease and their involvement in healing cults—are also discussed. Finally, the healing techniques known to have been employed in Attic healing cults are examined, as they can be explicitly connected with those found in the Hippocratic Corpus: blood-letting treatments that hinged upon notions of humoral theory, poultices and other drugs (*pharmaka*), hydrotherapeutic regimes, dietary treatments, and the interpretation of dreams for clues to somatic illness. Not only do these shared techniques suggest that healing cults were employing practices used by physicians, as per the Hippocratic Corpus, but also that Attic healing cults were active proponents and facilitators of new approaches to individualized healthcare—and perhaps in some cases, such as dream interpretation, themselves helped to develop and popularize healing techniques. The Hippocratic Corpus expounds the methodology, while healing cults provide a setting for the practice. Additionally, the spread of Hippocratic medicine as a larger social movement during the fifth century called attention to—and increased public interest in—bodily health; this movement developed alongside and likely

[176] Graf 2015, p.505-6.
[177] See Hipp. *Morb.Sacr.* 1; Wickkiser 2008, pp.31-33; Graf 2015, p.505.

influenced the approaches to healing found in contemporary Attic healing cults, and created in Athens a desire for cults that could offer recourse to individual healthcare.

1.4.1 The Medical Milieu of Fifth Century Athens

The broader intellectual and cultural landscape inhabited by Athenian doctors, the authors and audiences of medical treatises, priests, and citizens, was one that stressed new approaches to the treatment of illness and disease. However, the relationship between medicine and the rise of Attic healing cults is not one that can be conceptualized in terms of the "influence" of one institution or phenomenon upon the other. Quite naturally, one avenue for addressing personal illness was the physicians' *techne*, and another was through healing cults; [178] the two were not mutually exclusive, though healing was becoming increasingly "professionalized" in both arenas at the same time.

Some suggest that the Ionic dialect of the Hippocratic texts was meant to facilitate a wider engagement with the material, and need not imply that the writings were composed by and for Ionic Greeks; Hippokrates himself, for example, was from the Dorian island of Kos.[179] It seems likely that some of the fifth century Hippocratic treatises were composed by Athenians; *On the Art*, for example, contains distinct Atticisms suggestive of Attic authorship and Athenian audiences.[180] Later manuscripts display hyper-Ionianisms, and the originals may once have oscillated between the Attic and Ionic dialects.[181] It strikes me, however, that this "dialectal" approach to the material is rather restrictive, if not outdated; the *Histories* of Herodotus is filled with Atticisms and Homerisms, and "clean" dialects seem more a fantasy of modern grammarians than the cosmopolitan Aegean *poleis* of the fifth century. At any rate, these hypothetical quagmires leave us searching for firmer

[178] A third option open to individuals afflicted by illness, which was entirely loathed by the writers of the Hippocratic treatises, was what Nutton calls the "magical alternative"—the route, in other words, of purifications, incantations, and spells from ritual specialists adept in the "supernatural:" Nutton 2004, pp.103-114, esp. p.114. For the increased use of curse tablets in Attica during and after the years of the Peloponnesian War see Eidinow 2007, pp.44-71.
[179] Longrigg 1993, pp.32-33. It also seems possible that fifth century Hippocratics saw themselves as operating within the broader circles of Ionian philosophy, and this too could have influenced their choice of Ionic dialect; they were thus not launching something new or radical, but rather continuing an extant tradition of Ionic philosophy.
[180] Mann 2005, p.16; Wickkiser 2008, p.64.

ground. Whatever the underlying dialect or dialects—and these treatises themselves claim itinerancy and a wide circulation—the Hippocratic writings were certainly part of a larger fifth century "rationalizing" movement. This movement found explanations for everyday phenomena in natural causes, be it the movements of celestial or human bodies. The authors and audiences of the writings that comprise the Hippocratic Corpus were part of a broader milieu that sought to explain the workings of the body and the agents behind disease. This degree of somatic inquiry into the causes of illness—and other factors affecting the body—was obviously reflected in the treatises, yet was also much larger and more all-encompassing than them.

That a broader milieu of medical and somatic inquiry existed in Classical Athens can be seen in sources outside of the Hippocratic texts. Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusai*, for example, parodies the Hippocratic oath, and betrays a familiarity with Hippocratic ideas and practices in Athens by 411 BCE.[182] In Athenian tragedy, too, the influence of the Hippocratic writings has been discerned in the vocabulary, phrases, and figures of Euripidean plays; pulling on the same experiences and world views, both use similar strategies and language in treating different forms of human suffering.[183] Furthermore, Hippokrates was a known historical figure in Classical Athens—a physician who traced his lineage back to Asklepios and Apollo, and who had developed new approaches for treating illness. Not only was Hippokrates renowned as an effective doctor in the philosophical circles of Plato, but Aristotle also considered Hippokrates the physician *par excellence*.[184] The approaches taught by Hippokrates in addressing illness and the human body were thus circulating in Athenian schools, like Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lykeion, at latest during the fourth century at the latest. Finally, it has been shown how professional physicians would engage in displays of rhetoric before Athenian audiences when soliciting commissions, in both

[181] Wickkiser 2008, p.64 fn.5; Kühlewein 1894-1902 vol. I, lxv.
[182] Ar. *Th.*270-274.
[183] Kosak 2004.
[184] Sources from the fourth, rather than the fifth, century BCE. Pl. *Prot*. 311 B; Pl. *Phaedr*. 270 C-E; Arist. *Pol.* 7.4.

public and private settings.[185] Surely such declamations played a role in disseminating theories of disease and medicine, and helped familiarize everyday Athenians in current approaches to healing. These public "recitations" about health and the body could have (inadvertently) boosted the popularity of Attic healing cults, which were institutions that also promoted healing; healing cults employed many of the same approaches as physicians during treatment, but were venues that incorporated the "sacred" when healing individuals. And like their treatises, physicians also seem to have been itinerant during this period; one might think of Ktesias of Knidos opting to serve in the court of the Persian king Artaxerxes II.[186] It is clear that the theories and practices of Hippocratic medicine were circulating well within the public realm of Athenian society during the fifth century, made familiar through rhetorical declamation, philosophical circles, and open cultural events such as the theater.

1.4.2 The Hippocratic Corpus & Connections with Healing Deities

What, then, was the Hippocratic Corpus? Perhaps the first caveat regarding the "corpus" is that it was never quite that, so much as an accretionary collection of disparate writings addressing aspects of the body and illness. Some treatises resemble more informal notes, summaries, or groupings of aphoristic material.[187] Some inclusions were meant as handbooks of sorts for physicians, while others targeted laymen more broadly.[188] Several of the writings contradict or disagree with one another, yet all claim a basis in empirical fact and practice.[189] The texts are rooted in a logical causation that is independent of divine intervention, though are far from "atheistic" in so far as they still ascribe to the gods a place within the realm of healing.

[185] Lloyd 1979, Jouanna 1999, pp.75-85.
[186] Lenfant 2004; Auberger 1991; with original fragments collected in *FGrH* 688 (vol. IIIc; 1958).
[187] Lloyd 1979; Nutton 2004, pp.60-1; Jouanna 1999, pp.75-85; Wickkiser 2008, p.21.
[188] Nutton 2004, pp.60-1.
[189] Schiefsky 2005, Jouanna 2012, pp.95-100.

Roughly 60 medical tracts were transmitted under the name of "Hippokrates" in the manuscript tradition.[190] Hippokrates himself was a historical doctor from the island of Kos, believed to have lived during the second half of the fifth century BCE, thus under the shadow of the Athenian empire; he was considered an exemplary doctor in his own day by the Athenians, despite the fact that he was not known to have visited the city.[191] Kos was, of course, a tribute paying member of the Delian League and it is clear that there was a great deal of exchange between the island and Athens during this period—economic, of course, with regard to tribute, but perhaps also cultural exchange as it related to medical theory and practice. Section 1.1 above explored other points of exchange as they played out in Athens' overseas territories, if not the hinterlands of empire, which then traveled back from the periphery to the core of the Attic mainland proper. It seems like Athenians could have encountered Hippocratic medicine at work in their Koan territory throughout the duration of the fifth century. At any rate, Hippokrates did not personally compose all of the writings included within the corpus—nor were all of the nosological treatises written during Hippokrates' lifetime.[192] They range in date from roughly the mid fifth century down to the time of Aristotle, with a few outliers thought to date to the first or second centuries CE.[193]

Portrayed as a revered contemporary of Sokrates, Hippokrates is referenced twice by Plato, as noted above.[194] In both instances Hippokrates is introduced as coming from a family of Asklepiads (*Asklepiadai*), a clan whose members claimed descent from Asklepios. This is the first clue that a relationship existed between healing cults and members of a physician-group who self identified with Asklepios. As a deity, Asklepios embodied the skills of the ideal human physician;

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[190] Craik 2015, p. xxi. One main edition used in scholarship on the Hippocratic Corpus is that of Littré (L), 10 vols., 1839-61. Unless otherwise noted (L), however, I prefer the Loeb edition (1923) with translations by W.H.S. Jones.
[191] Wickkiser 2008, p.21; Dean-Jones 2003.
[192] This issue was already a debated matter in antiquity, with Galen attempting to distinguish true from apocryphal Hippocratic writings, as well as his predecessor Celsus (who attributed quite a large number of the writings to Hippokrates himself). Today it is generally agreed that several treatises were composed by Hippokrates' students; for example the *Nature of Man,* known for its theory of the four humors that make-up human beings (blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile), was written by Polybos, Hippokrates' student and son-in-law. See Jouanna 2012, p.97.
[193] *The Heart* and *Precepts* date to the third or second centuries BC, while *Decorum* is from the first or second century CE. Otherwise, the vast majority of the texts date between 450-350 BCE. Nutton 2004, pp.60-61; Jouanna 2012, p.97.
[194] Pl. *Prot*. 311 B, *Phaedr*. 270 C-E.

during the Classical period, physicians chose to associate themselves, and the craft of medicine, with this mythological and cultic healer. The Hippocratic Oath, too, demonstrates a connection between mortal physicians and divine healers. The oath itself, at least the form into which it crystalized in the Hippocratic Corpus, features the four divinities most prominent in Classical healing cults: Apollo, Asklepios, Hygieia, and Panakeia.[195] These divine figures were seen as the guarantors of mortal physicians, the deities to whom physicians swore to uphold the standards of the medical *techne*; Asklepios, Hygieia, and Panakeia were emerging simultaneously in the cultic arena as the recipients of new healing sanctuaries in fifth century Attica and beyond. It is likely that the two went hand-in-hand: the treatises indirectly promoted the use of healing cults, and healing cults promoted an interest in somatic and nosological theories of practice.

External sources, many significantly later than the Classical period, also link Hippokrates and his *techne* to divinities prominently found in fifth century healing cults. The Palatine Anthology records Hippokrates' epitaph to have read, "Here lies Thessalian Hippokrates, a Koan by descent, born of the immortal stock of Apollo. By the arms of Hygieia he had many victories over disease and won great repute not by chance but by skill."[196] Even if the authenticity of the epitaph is in doubt, it was believed to be genuine by the Hellenistic period, and shows the craft of medicine fusing with the divinities of healing cults—in this case, Apollo, the father of Asklepios (also a purported relation of Hippokrates through Asklepios), as well as Hygieia, the female consort of Asklepios and other Attic healing heroes. Again, it seems that physicians engaging in the medical *techne*, and especially the figure Hippokrates, were keen to align themselves with divinities prominent in contemporary healing cults; this was beneficial to their craft, and in no way at odds with the developing "scientific medicine" behind the Hippocratic writings. Finally, Strabo records another tradition in which Hippocratic medicine and fifth century healing cults stood in close proximity. There was an anecdote in which Hippokrates was inspired to compose his medical treatises on account of the

[195] Hipp. *Iusi*. 1-3. von Staden 1997, pp.157-195.

votive tablets displayed in the Asklepieion on Kos; Strabo writes: "It is said that the dietetics practised by Hippokrates were derived mostly from the cures recorded on the votive tablets there" (14.2.19, trans. W.H.S. Jones).[197] The story is apocryphal, but the point is that it was clearly believable: during the lifetime of Hippokrates the cult of Asklepios was indeed spreading across all of Greece, and was thought in later times to have influenced the developing body of Hippocratic medicine.[198]

By the early fourth century Hippokrates was known for training pupils in the medical *techne* for a fee, and for a distinct "method" of practice that was learned through the examination of nature (φύσεως σκόπει).[199] Presumably this can be applied more generally to the "school" with which he was affiliated. While some of the writings from the Hippocratic Corpus are associated with the medical center on Kos, others are thought to have originated in a second medical center at Knidos, where another group of physicians calling themselves "Asklepiads" existed; the opening-up of the medical *techne* to those who could pay encouraged the growth of additional centers across the Greek world.[200] These "schools" were less centralized and formal than the term suggests; especially in the formative years, they were centers of teaching grouped loosely around certain practitioners or theories.[201] Even the grouping of these writings into "schools" has recently come under scrutiny, as influences are now thought to have originated in regions of western Greece (southern Italy and Sicily), northern Africa (Kyrene), and possibly even Thracian Abdera, in addition to east Greece

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[196] *Anth. Gr.* 7.135.

[197] I cannot help sharing Strabo's account of the Koan Asklepieion, a rich treasure chest of a temple once filled with famous works of art that were pilfered by the Romans. Strabo's account reveals the fame and wealth that the cult of Asklepios on Kos had attained by the fourth century BCE: "In the suburb is the Asklepieion, a temple exceedingly famous and full of numerous votive offerings, among which is the Antigonos of Apelles. And Aphrodite Anadyomene used to be there, but it is now dedicated to the deified Caesar in Rome, Augustus thus having dedicated to his father the female founder of his family. It is said that the Koans got a remission of 100 talents of the appointed tribute in return for the painting" (Trans. W.H.S. Jones, with some alterations by author).

[198] Riethmüller 2005; Melfi 2007.

[199] Pl. *Prot.* 311b; Pl. *Phaed.* 270C-E. Plato notes in the latter passage that the logical method employed by Hippokrates in addressing ailments of the body was similar to that of a philosopher addressing the soul, with 'the whole' understood in the sense of the entirety of the object or theme being investigated: see Nutton 2004, p.57.

[200] Places like Kroton in southern Italy, Cyrene, Kos, Pergamon, and Knidos. For "schools," see Wickkiser 2008, who pulls on Nutton 1995 pp. 3-25. See also Langholf 1990.

[201] Craik 2015, pp. xxii.

(mainly Ionia).[202] In other words, "Hippocratic" medicine should be approached as a fluid and dynamic movement, which picked up influences and insights from across the Greek world as it gained momentum, and spread with new pupils or even itinerant physicians; only later did some of the diverse medical writings that circulated during this period become canonized into a "corpus."[203] This framework de-centralizes questions of authorship and attribution, and instead allows a freer study of the ideas and influences circulating behind the treatises. The writings can then be aligned with historical material *not* transmitted in the corpus, such as—in Athens, for example—contemporary tragedy or the foundations of new healing cults. In other words, I suggest that that the Hippocratic writings, like other contemporary (non-"Hippocratic") medical writings and new healing sanctuaries, should be viewed as participating in a much larger fifth century phenomenon of somatic and medical inquiry.

Such an approach to the Hippocratic writings coheres with what we know about fifth century medicine from external contexts. For example, it was discussed above how some treatises associated with Hippokrates were collected and aired within the circles of Plato and Aristotle, in their respective schools in Athens.[204] This is one way in which we might understand the dissemination of these medical theories happening on the ground, so to speak; public displays of rhetoric by physicians were another. A papyrus recovered in the late nineteenth century, furthermore, contains considerable medical material from the fifth and early fourth centuries BCE, and features writings and physicians different from those found in the Hippocratic Corpus;[205] for example, the figure of Hippokrates is mentioned in passing without much remark, as just one of many physicians associated with the etiology of disease, along with the philosopher Plato and the Pythagorean Philolaos.[206] This papyrus reveals the vast body of medical and somatic theory in circulation in the fifth century; it also shows the existence of *other* medical traditions in circulation

[202] Craik 2015, pp. xxii.
[203] Nutton 2004, pp. 51-63; Craik 2015, p.xxii.
[204] Craik 2015, p.xxiii.

outside of the Hippocratic teachings, which at this time formed but a drop in an ocean of competing traditions. The papyrus also shows how interwoven the origins of medicine were with what have traditionally been considered "philosophical" schools of thought; the so-called Presocratic philosophers clearly influenced both trajectories, as their investigations explored the character of the body as well as the workings of the natural world more broadly.

1.4.3 Illness, Medicine, and Treatment: Hippocratic Writings & Attic Healing Cults

The Hippocratic writings reveal much about notions of health in the fifth century, including recommended therapies and techniques for treatment. Not all practices were universal: whichever physician or group produced *Airs, Waters, Places* had a different perspective on disease and developed alternative treatments than the author responsible for *On Nutriment*, for example. While the former is aimed at educating itinerant physicians, and emphasizes the centrality of water to both health and disease, the latter treatise focuses on the how the body is in a constant state of flux from the assimilation of food, while examining issues of digestion more generally. Though this is not the place to wade into the nosological details of individual treatises, the level of inquiry behind these writings is remarkable, and I provide a brief sample of the content found within these texts. *On Nutriment*, for example, applies Heraklitos' notion of all things being in a state of constant flux to the process of food-absorption by living organisms; the result is τροφή, understood as that which provides nourishment.[207] The treatise operates under the notion that nutritive food—as well as air, which is thought to have been another form of nutriment—has power (δύναμις), and is dissolved in moisture inside the body; it then travels throughout the body and assimilates to skin, bone, etc. as it

[205] *Anonymus Londinensis*= *Anon. Lond.*= PBrLibr inv. 137 = P.Lit.Lond. 165.
[206] *Anon. Lond.*; Jones 2011 [1947] *passim*; Craik 2015, p.xvii.
[207] *Alim.*1-6, 9 L. Jouanna 1961, pp.452-63.

comes into contact with them.[208] Blood was considered πλεονασμός, a "left-over" substance from after nourishment had taken place (as was milk, *Alim.* 36 L). It is not difficult to see how a physician trained in the tenets of this treatise—or even familiar with it—would treat patients with a regime centered around dietetics. Dietetics was an important contribution of Hippocratic medicine to fifth century healing practices. Like *On Nutriment*, the treatise *On Affections* also discusses the importance of dietary needs when addressing health—some foods served to moisten the body, while others acted as drying agents.[209] Certain foods were known to have a diuretic or laxative effect, while others had binding qualities; different foods, like wine or meat, had the δύναμις to bring about different effects upon the body, and could be used in various courses of treatment.[210] Dietetics seems to have complemented more traditional approaches of treating illness, such as drugs and surgery.[211]

Physicians and the healing *techne* more generally had long precedents known from earlier literature—from Homer onwards we know of doctors capable of healing with both *pharmaka* and surgical procedures.[212] Dietetics was slightly different, however, in that it aimed to prevent disease and maintain health in a prophylactic sort of way; by focusing on the interaction between nutrition and bodily health, dietetics utilized "nutritional" therapies to protect against disease or to help a patient regain health. Nutritional remedies invoked the properties of different foods, from vegetables to meats to fruit to grains to nuts; directions on when to eat what, and when to abstain from everything, are discussed throughout these treatises.[213] Different methods of cooking and preserving food are even compared, so important was nutrition considered to well-being.[214] Dietetics operated on the premise that health was achieved through the equilibrium of bodily

[208] *Alim.* 48 (air as nutriment); *Alim.* 7, 9, 27, 32, 54, *et al*.
[209] *Aff*. 39-40; 43-44.
[210] *Aff*. 54-59; *Aff*. 47-51.
[211] Kosak 2004, pp. 2-3; 112-113.
[212] Healing in Homer: *Il.* 5.395-402, 5.902-4, 11.514-15, 11.804-848. On possible references to physicians in the Linear B tablets, along with Bronze Age medical instruments and skeletal remains, see Arnott 1996, pp.266-9. On treating war wounds in antiquity, see Salazar 2000.
[213] *Vic.* 2*; De morbo sacro* 2 (Loeb 2; 6 L).

humors, with a primary emphasis on the maintenance of health rather than the expulsion of disease from the body; the overall benefit of this type of therapy was greater and sustained control over individual health.[215]

It seems that healing cults, too, were operating with an eye to dietetics, as certain foods were prescribed and prohibited within the healing sanctuaries. During the Roman Imperial period, for example, Aelius Aristides discusses in great detail the dietetic therapies he was prescribed by Asklepios; these often included very specific types of foods, such as wild greens, lettuce, and the occasional whole chicken. Asklepios also prohibited the consumption of certain foods, such as sweet meats, fish, fish sauce, pork, beef, and, at one point, even "all living things."[216] But were healing cults engaging in dietetic therapies for worshippers during earlier periods? Though we have no Classical source with Aristides' degree of detail for health regimes, the answer seems to be yes—sanctuaries were indeed aware of dietetic therapies, and employed them when healing worshippers during earlier periods. For example, Aristophanes' *Ploutos* offers a comic look at ritualized incubation in the Piraeus Asklepieion (see Part 2.4); within the incubation hall, a scene emerges with many individuals παντοδαπὰ νοσήματα ἔχοντες.[217] One ailing individual within the *temenos* was an old woman; she was given a pot of gruel or porridge (ἀθάρη) by the sanctuary personnel, presumably as part of her healing therapy.[218] Not only were such slops fed to patients in fifth century healing cults, but this food is also discussed in great detail in the Hippocratic Corpus. *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, for example, describes cases in which patients were sent to bed with a change of diet imposed. Sick patients were prescribed gruel or thick porridge, depending upon the

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[214] *Vic.* 2.56.
[215] Kosak 2004, pp. 112-13.
[216] Aristid. *Or.* 49.35-5; *Or.* 48.37 K.
[217] One must proceed cautiously when attempting to extract information from Attic Comedy, but it seems that in this passage, the humor lay more in the scenes of flatulent incubants, for example, than the basic rituals shown to operate within the sanctuary, such as purification, sacrifice, and incubation. Their inclusion within the comedy presupposes a familiarity, furthermore, on the part of the audience with such ritual practices. See Olson 2010, pp. 35-69; Bowie 2010, pp.143-176. Although the extant play has a performance date of 388 BCE, an earlier iteration was performed two decades prior, in the year 408: Sommerstein 2001, pp. 28-33.
[218] Ar. *Plout.* 672-695.

amount of barley-water used in preparation.[219] The treatise gives detailed instructions for the preparation and administration of various forms of gruel, the administration of which also had its dangers—the author warns that the untimely use of gruel without first purging the patient, or even unstrained gruel, could in fact be quite harmful.[220]

Within healing cults, dietetic principals can also be seen in the sorts of food prohibited to those wanting to incubate. Prohibited, for example, was the consumption of goat meat and goat cheese prior to incubating in the Pergamene Asklepieion, and the ingestion of beans in the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos.[221] Both of these foods are discussed in the Hippocratic writings, and it seems that some physicians understood goat meat in particular to disturb the body's digestion process.[222] It is tempting to link these same restrictions to broader social taboos current in dietetic theory.

The same Hippocratic treatise also reveals (and bemoans) another "healing option" available to individuals—the route of the purifier or supernatural practitioner, whose therapy could involve incantations and purifications. *On the Sacred Disease* states that purifiers also prohibited their patients from eating certain foods, including goat (along with wearing goat skins). These "healers," contemptuously referred to by the Hippocratic author as "conjurors," "deceivers," and "charlatans," also altered the diets of their patients when commissioned to heal; the author of the medical text unapologetically despised these sorts of purifiers.[223] It has been convincingly argued by Nutton that in Classical Athens, Hippocratic doctors and healing cult personnel were both trying to marginalize these types of "supernatural" traffickers, and type-cast them as dodgy charlatans—figures who operated outside the orthodox channels that benefited both the state and

[219] Hipp. *Acut.* 16-17.
[220] Hipp. *Acut.* 16-17.
[221] Restrictions on goat meat and goat cheese in the cult of Asklepios at Pergamon and Epidauros: *IvP* III, 161.13-14 and Paus. 2.26.9, respectively; beans: Ar. *Amph*. *PCG* III.2, 44-45, frg. 23, and Ath. 4.158c. See Deubner 1900, pp.14-17; Bonnechère 2003a, p.179; Sixeux 2007, pp.120-129; von Ehrenheim 2011, p.27.
[222] See Hipp. *Morb. Sacr.* 2 (Loeb 2, 141-142; 6.354-356 L).
[223] Hipp. *Morb. Sacr.* 2.

individual patients.[224] The burst of fifth century Attic healing cults and the Hippocratic medical writings can thus be seen as two manifestations of the same phenomenon, namely "the defining of an orthodoxy over against a magical alternative."[225] Even if the historical picture was more complex than this—with *goetes*, *magoi*, and other religious professionals filling different social niches—the condemnatory tone of *On the Sacred Disease* toward these "dabblers" in healing is undeniably hostile. We can be grateful, however, for this rant because it reveals how widespread and entrenched "somatic" inquiry was in fifth century society; the treatise shows that physicians, purifiers, and healing cults were all aware of and using shared approaches to address individual ailments—in this case, managing health and treating illness by way of dietetics. Healers in their various manifestations—physicians, healing cult personnel, purifiers—understood diet to be vital to well-being since food could cause illness or, alternatively, restore health through its effects upon humoral balance.[226]

In addition to alterations in dietary regimes, the Hippocratic writings reveal an array of treatments used for addressing illness, especially acute diseases. In such cases, individuals would likely visit a doctor as a first recourse; several scholars contrast these "urgent" health issues, which called for a physician, with chronic or recurring ailments, for which healing cults could serve as a more fitting alternative.[227] Physicians in the fifth century treated acute diseases through a combination of methods that included bloodletting, purging, surgery, and the use of various drugs.[228] This corresponds in a general way with the iconography of the physician as it emerges from the material record, in that depictions of doctors include these medical tools to visually cue the iatric *techne*. For example, one marble relief from the early fifth century depicts a seated physician; he is characterized by a pronounced beard, walking staff, and two prominent cupping

[224] Nutton 2004, p.114.
[225] Nutton 2004, p.114.
[226] Grant 2000, p.7.
[227] Wickkiser 2008, pp.58-61; Steger 2004; Hart 2000, p.88.
[228] *Acut.* B 2, 24-5, 26-39 L.

vessels (Fig. 10).[229] Physicians used cupping vessels to draw out of the body the sickness carried by humoral fluids like blood or bile; the instruments were heated and, while warm, placed on the skin to create suction—thus drawing the humors up and out toward the skin.[230] Such vessels presume an understanding of humoral theory. From the same period, roughly 480 BCE, is a red-figure *aryballos* that depicts a physician tending to six ill patients (Fig. 11); cupping vessels again hang above the healer, who is shown applying a scalpel to one patient's forearm.[231] The *aryballos* also depicts an instance of bloodletting, complete with a basin beneath the patient's arm that catches the streaming blood.

These same sorts of tools—cupping vessels, scalpels, instruments for mixing *pharmaka*—emerge from the material record within Attic healing sanctuaries, suggesting that similar procedures could be administered within the cults of Asklepios and Amphiaraos. For example, a number of medical tools are known to have been lodged in the Piraeus Asklepieion by the early fourth century BCE; displayed on the sacred cult-table were cupping vessels, a medicine chest, surgical knives, and a forceps—all property of Askepios.[232] This also suggests the presence of physicians within Attic healing cults, as worshippers and dedicators keen to affiliate themselves with the healing deity; similar sorts of medical dedications appear in inventories from the sanctuary of the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens, though these date from the Hellenistic period (see Appendix 1.1).[233] The Amphiareion at Oropos has produced actual surgical tools, once functional, in addition to votive medical instruments (Fig. 12-13);[234] this suggests that not only were physicians present in these healing sanctuaries making dedications, but also that temple could medicine include operations and surgeries. Similar types of medical tools have been found at Epidauros,

[229] Antikenmuseum, Basel: BS 236. Provenance unknown, but seemingly funerary; we can only speak, then, of this object's iconography in a broad sense, and not the piece's social function or the role it played within the community in which it circulated. Dated c.480 by Berger 1970, pp.30-33. Later physician-iconography follows these visual cues: *IG* II² 4513, British Museum GR 1865.I-I.3, a grave stele of the Athenian doctor Iason from the second century CE.
[230] On cupping vessels see Krug 1985, pp.96-7.
[231] c.480 BCE; Louvre, Paris: CA 2183.
[232] μαχαίρια καὶ καρκίνος ἰατρικά: *IG* II² 47.1, 12-17.
[233] *IG* II² 839, and the similar but later *IG* II² 840.

where healing narratives—however fantastical—describe the range of procedures performed by the temple; these included various surgical treatments, the draining of pus, pharmacological remedies, and more.[235]

In addition to surgical procedures, we know that Attic healing cults—like practitioners of Hippocratic medicine—administered pharmacological treatments when healing patients. The author of *Ancient Medicine* attributes the discovery of medicine to the manipulation of natural products; these could then be made more suitable for human consumption, by "steeping, winnowing, grinding and sifting, kneading, baking ... combining the weaker components so as to adapt all to the constitution and power of man."[236] That Athenian physicians were indeed healing patients with drugs, balms, and other sorts of *pharmaka* is clear from Aristophanes' *Acharnians*; when Dikaiopolis is asked for a salve to heal his eyes, he retorts "Go away, you scoundrel—I don't happen to be the public doctor!"[237] This passage and the one from *Ancient Medicine* prove instructive for another episode from Aristophanes' *Ploutos.* Set in the Asklepieion's incubation hall, this play features Asklepios, Iaso, Panakeia, and Asklepios' priests circulating among the sick incubators; Asklepios himself is portrayed as a doctor who carefully inspected individual patients.[238] In one case, he used a stone mortar, pestle, and a medicine box—again, the tools of the physician—to grind a poultice made from three heads of crushed garlic, fig-juice, mastic, and vinegar; he then plastered the patient's eyelids with this salve, which humorously led Neokleides to shriek in pain.[239] The mixing of these organic elements into a poultice, however, again shows that similar principals underpinned drug therapies in both healing cults and Hippocratic circles; the use of foods like garlic and figs suggests that what we consider "dietetic" therapies could blur with more traditional *pharmaka*-based treatments. This passage shows that Athenian healing cults and

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[234] Petrakos 1968, fig. 50γ, 51δ-ε, 52γ, 53α.
[235] The standard edition of these inscriptions is that of Hiller, *IG* IV² 1, 121-4. See too LiDonnici 1995.
[236] Hipp. *VM* 3 (Trans. W.H.S. Jones).
[237] 425 BCE: Ar. *Ach*. 1030.
[238] Ar. *Plout.* 700-712.

public physicians were indeed treating similar ailments, such as eye problems, during the fifth century. Furthermore, long lists of drugs and herbal remedies are known to have existed in some Asklepieia, such as that of Lebena on Crete; fascinating cure-recipes, many detailing specific plants and other ingredients for herbal remedies, once hung there as publically-visible dedications.[240] Several of these inscriptions from the Asklepieion at Lebena read like pharmacological recipes; though most date from the first century BCE, they preserve earlier dietetic traditions, and reveal a growing familiarity with medicine in public settings:

"To Asklepios.
Poplios Granios. According to [the god's] command.
For two years a persistent cough, such that I was coughing up phlegm for the whole day. Then the god showed the way to cure me.
He gave me greens to munch after fasting, and Italian pepper to drink; fine gruel with hot water, then a powder from the ashes of the altar with holy water, then an egg and pine resin, next black pitch, next, the iris plant with honey, then an apple."

And another from the Asklepieion at Lebena,

"He gave me rocket (*eruca sativa*) to eat on an empty stomach, then pepper flavored Italian wine to drink, then fine meal with hot water, then powder from the sacred ashes and sacred water, then an egg and pine resin, then moist pitch, then iris with honey, then a quince and euphorbia to be cooked together, with the juice to be drunk and the fruit to be eaten, then a fig with holy ashes from the altar to be eaten."[241]

It is clear how dietetics and pharmacological treatments influenced one another, and all were infused with the divine (here quite literally, in the form of altar ash!). Strabo records public lists like those of Lebena at the Asklepieion on Kos. This later tradition saw Hippokrates inspired to write his works because of votive tablets in Asklepios' sanctuary: "It is said that Hippokrates derived his dietetic prescriptions mostly from the cures recorded on the votive tablets there."[242] Even if this

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[239] Ar. *Plout*. 716-725. The Neokleides' episode was surely intended for comedic effect; what was not a joke, however, was the basic premise and assumed understanding (on the part of the audience) of the incubation scene.
[240] Philostr. *Apoll.* 4.34. *I. Cret.* I xvii.9, 17, 18, 19, 24. See Edelstein 1945 vol.I, pp.239-40; 252-54; Willetts 1962, pp.224-27.
[241] For both see *IC* I.17, first century CE (*Inscr. Cret*. I), adapted from the translation of Edelstein and Edelstein 1945, I, 252.
[242] Strab. 14.2.19.

account is retrospective, and projects a later tradition back before its time, it is still apparent that Asklepieia were prescribing dietetic and pharmacological remedies, many of which were publically displayed as lists of herbal cures and medicinal recipes.

Another overlap between the methods of healing cults and Hippocratic medicine lies in prescribed treatments of washing, bathing, and purification. The treatise *On Affections* encourages a hydrotherapeutic regime for treating illness; the rationale for washing (and warming) the body with water is thought to induce the dilution and diffusion of bile and phlegm.[243] Another fifth century treatise, *On Regimen in Acute Diseases*, also extols the benefits of bathing; hot baths were thought to be especially efficacious.[244] These Hippocratic treatises prescribe baths and bathing as a regime toward regaining health, and it is clear that contemporary Attic healing cults were also making use of hydrotherapeutic treatments. The sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos, for example, by the fourth century had expanded architecturally to include both men's and women's bathing facilities.[245] Similarly, the *Ploutos* of Aristophanes reveals that it was common for bathing to precede ritualized incubation in the Piraeus Asklepieion: "Having arrived as quickly as possible near the sanctuary leading our man, then the most wretched, but now blessed—fortunate—we first led him to the sea to bathe him."[246] Again, I am not suggesting that healing cults came to include bathing therapies because of the Hippocratic Corpus; the influence was not so simple or linear, and the opposite could easily be true. Rather, I think that as medical inquiry was expanding during the fifth century, healing cults were also refining their approaches toward addressing individual health. Discussions of health and disease were ongoing in the public realm, and healing cults were employing similar techniques—such as bathing regimes—in treating individuals. In doing so they

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[243] *Aff*. 16 L.
[244] *Acut*. A 18; *Aff*. 53. As an alternative to water, this treatment could even be made with wine or oil (*Aff*. 42).
[245] Petrakos 1968, pp. 72-77, 109-110. For more on bath-therapy, see Boudon 1994, pp.157-168.
[246] πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤγομεν ἔπειτ' ἐλοῦμεν, ll.654-6. While all agree that Aristophanes' *Ploutos* was set in an Attic Asklepieion, there is debate over which Asklepieion was being referenced: that on the south slope of the Akropolis, or the Asklepieion at Zea. I agree with the majority (e.g., Aleshire 1989, p. 13; Garland 1987, p. 200; Judeich 1931, p. 441; Milchhöfer 1891, CXII nr. 55, et al.) that the *Ploutos* was set at Zea in the Piraeus. For more on this, see Part II Section 2.4.

also helped popularize (and probably refine) these treatments. It seems logical that the Hippocratic treatises recorded and expanded upon traditional approaches to medicine, and we might also assume Attic healing sanctuaries to have hopped on the bandwagon, so to speak, and employed these new techniques in order to remain relevant to patrons. Even if the direction of influence cannot be pinpointed, healing cults and Hippocratic medicine were operating in league with one another during the Classical period.

One final medical text that seems relevant in a discussion of approaches to diagnosing and treating illness—especially as an example of a "Hippocratic" method that overlaps with techniques employed in contemporary healing cults—is the fifth century treatise *On Dreams* (*Vict*. 4). True to its name, this work explores the role of dreams in assessing an individual's health and diagnosing illness; it claims that dreams held significance and could reflect an individual's state of health.[247] The Hippocratic treatise explains that dreams fall into two categories: (1) divine prophetic dreams, which could be interpreted by the appropriate professionals (personnel in incubation cults?), and (2) dreams about the state of the body, which were of interest and relevance to physicians.[248] Dreams about the individual could then be analyzed according to type, because they were seen as part of the individual's overall health, a part and product of the body.[249] Dreams, in other words, had within them "therapeutic" content, which with screening and the right training could elicit information about an individual's health. For example, a dream about a river could represent the circulation of blood within the body of the individual; a fetid or stagnant stream, on the other hand, could signify an issue with the individual's bowels. A dream of a flood could indicate disease, while a storm could represent a stomach disorder. Bare earth could show terminal illness.[250] The careful categorization and screening of dreams was thus deemed important to Hippocratic medicine, considered relevant to individual health and well being. Physicians familiar with this treatise must

[247] Craik 2015, p.275.
[248] *Vict.* 4, 87.
[249] *Vict.* 4, 89-92.

have received training in dream interpretation, as dreams were considered relevant to their patient's health and adherents to the treatise.

On Dreams is an exemple of how the approaches and practices employed by fifth century Greek physicians—especially those that engaged with the texts that came to form the Hippocratic Corpus—overlapped with those known from contemporary Attic healing cults. The treatise concludes with a recommendation for both a "rational" regimen treatment, and also a "religious" one, by offering prayers to the gods. The Hippocratic treatise even specifies which gods an individual should seek out in such matters, depending on the sorts of dreams the patient experienced: "in the case of favorable signs, [offer prayers] to Helios, Zeus of the Heavens, Zeus protector of the hearth, Athena protectress of the hearth, Hermes, Apollo; in the case of unfavorable signs, [pray] to the gods that protect against harm, the Earth and the heroes."[251] Though specialized healing deities such as Asklepios do not appear on this list, the passage is nonetheless significant in showing how cults and sanctuaries—along with the rituals undertaken within these sacred spaces—were viewed as alternative paths to regaining health. That the author encourages patients to offer prayers to deities, furthermore, shows that what is sometimes categorized as "rational" medicine was not averse to sanctuary healing—especially within cults tailored to health. Just as the author of the medical treatise *On Dreams* emphasized the importance of dreams, and the information encoded within them, so too did dreams play an important role in Attic healing cults, several of which hinged upon oneiromancy in diagnosing individuals. During incubation, dreams were the medium through which the individual encountered the divine, and could also provide recourse for treatment.[252] Prior to incubating in the sanctuary of Asklepios in the Piraeus, for example, worshippers would offers prayers and sacrifices to Helios, Apollo, and Hermes, three deities also referenced by the author of *On Dreams*, and known to assist in the sending of positive

[250] *Vict.* 4.90. For metaphors between these diagnoses and the (gendered) human body, see Cole 2014, p.161.
[251] *Vict.* 4.89-90.
[252] Platt 2015.

signs in dreams.[253] Along with Hermes and Apollo, furthermore, worshippers at the healing sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos would sacrifice to Ge and the heroes before undergoing incubation;[254] again, these deities were important in the incubation ritual, associated with the bringing of dreams or the process of seeing and recollecting (Hermes and Helios, for example). Though we do not know quite how the dreams of overnighting visitors were analyzed in healing cults and translated into therapies or cure regimes, it seems that the process of dream interpretation would have been an important process within incubation cults and understood to have a bearing on health, like in the Hippocratic Corpus. Perhaps a shared conceptual framework underpinned these two avenues toward health in Classical Athens, as intimated by the presence of the same specialized deities in both contexts.

Like the models put forth in the Hippocratic treatises, the treatments within new Attic healing sanctuaries were tailored to individual needs. Distinctions have been drawn in modern scholarship between the more immediate and pressing types of diseases treated by physicians, on the one hand, as contrasting with individuals experiencing prolonged ailments on the other: pain or discomfort accompanied by lingering symptoms, or more broadly, "chronic" cases of illness.[255] While this is certainly possible in some cases, a close reading of fifth century medical treatises and the material from contemporary healing cults shows that there was in fact substantial overlap in the types of ailments treated by physicians and healing cults. A relationship between physicians and medical instruments, and their presence within Attic healing cults, was observed above; we noted how many of the procedures understood to have taken place within Classical healing sanctuaries—surgeries, the draining of bodily fluids, etc.—also betrayed a logic of healing, along with a concept of disease. Additionally, both physicians and Attic healing cults could address similar issues; one common example being reproductive failure or infertility. These concerns were the subject of

[253] *IG* II² 4962.
[254] Paus. 1.34.3.
[255] Nutton 2004, p.109; Wickkiser 2008, pp. 58-61; Steger 2004; Hart 2000, p.88.

several Hippocratic treatises, including gynecological catalogues aimed at the treatment of the female reproductive system.[256] Hippocratic theories and approaches to medicine devoted great effort to these sorts of "diseases", but in such instances healing cults may have ultimately offered more hope of resolution through divine assistance—a mentality more open to the miraculous, and perhaps not unlike modern centers of pilgrimage like Lourdes in France or the church of Nossa do Senhor Bonfim (and its Sala dos Milagres), in Brasil (Fig. 14-15). For issues such as reproductive failure or infertility, Hippocratic medicine could only go so far; healing cults were an appealing alternative, and countless votives of genitals, breasts, etc. were known to have covered the walls of healing temples—testimonies to the deity's efficacy.[257] Inscribed healing narratives are also extant from Epidauros, the largest Asklepieion on the Greek mainland, which reference several instances of infertility and complicated pregnancies.[258]

More generally, the emphasis placed upon therapy—found throughout the Hippocratic writings—can also be found within the new Attic healing sanctuaries. By the end of the fifth century, a healing culture of sorts had taken root in Attica that was based upon methods of diagnosis, individual therapy, and the treatment of ailments; these methods could be found both in the physician's practice and sacred healing precincts. The sanctuaries of Asklepios on the south slope of the Akropolis and in the Piraeus, along with the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos, for example, all employed "therapeutic" models of treatment, with close observation paid to symptoms, diagnosis, and therapy (especially through overnight incubation and dreams). Within these sanctuaries, functional architecture and presumably cult services were expanded during the late fifth century, and all three cults flourished during this period; sanctuary personnel played an active role in integrating new rituals, facilities, and healing treatments with more traditional sanctuary

[256] Demand 1994, p.94.
[257] *IG* II^2 1534, e.g.. The presence of anatomical votives suggests that Attic healing cults were targeting and treating certain parts of the body; like the *Airs, Waters, and Places* of the Hippocratic corpus, which lays out particular illnesses such as ocular diseases (4, 10) and diseases of the kidney (9), healing cults could also approach disease by targeting individual body parts.
[258] *IG* IV^2 1.121-23.

practices. In a way, the abrupt appearance of healing cults can be seen a formalization of the changing attitudes towards health and the body in the later fifth century—not dependent upon the Hippocratic Corpus, but contemporary with it, and part of the same wave of rationalism but with an infusion of the sacred.

1.4.4 Physicians and Healing Deities: A Close Proximity

In healing cults like those of Asklepios on the Akropolis or in the Piraeus, or that of Amphiaraos at Oropos, the healing hero appeared to individual worshippers in a dream during ritualized incubation. The god either performed a healing act during incubation—temple medicine was known to have included both surgery and milder treatments, such as the application of drugs to parts of the body—or relayed through the dream a course of action for the patient to follow upon waking.[259] The personalized treatment of individual ailments, and therapeutic approaches toward healing (bathing, dietary regimes, poultices, surgery) shows that the personnel within Attic healing sanctuaries used practices similar to those outlined in Hippocratic medicine. Indeed, as I have shown, some practices expounded in the treatises and sanctuaries had long, traditional prehistories in Greece, while others represented cutting edge, *au courant* techniques drawn from the contemporary intellectual milieu.

During the Classical period, furthermore, physicians were known to utilize Attic healing cults, though it is unclear in what capacity. As noted above, their presence is known from temple inventories; in the year 329/8 BCE a doctor's writing tablet is recorded on the list of temple dedications from the south slope Asklepieion, and two other dedicants are identified as physicians by Aleshire.[260] Cauterizing tools, probes, and cupping instruments hung on the walls of the temple

[259] Gorrini 2005, p.140; Harris 2009, esp.39-40, 107-8, 184-5; Ar. *Plout.*; Archinos relief (Athens NAM 3369).
[260] See Aleshire 1989, pp. 126–165, 231-282, 328; Inv. III. 117, IV. 67, V. 78, 125. The temple inventories also show that medical tools were being offered as dedications to Asklepios.

of Asklepios on the Akropolis; their highly specialized nature led Aleshire to suspect that they were offered by doctors upon retirement or after the successful treatment of a patient.[261]

Though difficult to determine in fifth century Athens due to the dearth of evidence, it seems like a close relationship existed there between physicians and healing cults. A later decree, for example (*IG* II^2 772 of 252/1 BCE) states that public physicians in Athens sacrificed twice a year to Asklepios and Hygieia, both on behalf of themselves and the patients they had healed. This decree shows that, by the third century at the latest, but likely earlier, there was a relationship between physicians and healing cults in Athens—and it seems to have been mutually beneficial. This is borne out, too, by *IG* II^2 3798 and *IG* II^2 3799, two Attic inscriptions that date to the Roman period (early 2nd c. CE). Both Sozon of Sounion and Asylos Steyrieos held the titles of "physician" and "zachoros" of Asklepios in his south slope sanctuary.[262] The office of *zachoros* had by this time become a magistracy devoted to the medical treatment of sanctuary visitors, and this sacred post was filled by Attic physicians. These later inscriptions show quite clearly, however, that physicians and priests were working alongside one another inside the sanctuaries of Asklepios—do they capture a practice already underway in the Classical period?

A relationship between physicians and healing cults is strengthened in an indirect way by earlier material, though vague and some of it non-Attic. A late fourth century decree honoring the public physician Pheidias of Rhodes was erected and displayed in the Asklepieion there (*IG* II^2 483.9); this is an example of the state honoring a doctor in a sanctuary of Asklepios, and suggests a civic-perceived connection between physicians and healing cults.[263] Furthermore, Aleshire thinks that an honorary statue displayed in the south slope Asklepieion honoring Polykritos was in fact Polykritos of Mende, a renowned physician of the Classical period from the Chalkidike.[264] These tantalizing tidbits perhaps raise more questions than they can answer for fifth century Athens; they

[261] Aleshire 1989, p.94.
[262] Aleshire 1989, p. 59, 87.
[263] Wickkiser 2008, pp.10-32, 53-57.

raise the possibility, however, that Attic healing cults and practicing physicians circulated in the same networks during the Classical period. Approaches to treating illness overlapped significantly between the two, and both were aware of one another and not mutually exclusive courses for treatment. Rational, scientific medicine, as portrayed by the Hippocratic writings, was performed by pious doctors and healing sanctuaries alike. Together they formed two viable options for sick or injured individuals, and surely many Athenians partook in both.

1.4.5 Conclusion

By the fifth century, theories of disease and the practices employed in the burgeoning craft of medicine were not just spreading—they were opening up what had once been a more restricted set of principals and practices. The spread of medical knowledge and new techniques of treatment were taking place across the Greek world in varying degrees and formats; physicians and medical centers were certainly one trajectory, "philosophical" circles another (with respect to theory), purifiers and itinerant "supernatural" practitioners a third, and contemporary healing cults can be seen as a fourth.

Like the flurry of healing cults that appeared in Athens in the late fifth century, contemporary Greek medical writings reveal a social investment in the alleviation of suffering through the diagnosis and treatment of human illness. The Classical physician was trained in theories and approaches current in the fifth century medical movement, as it were, and had learned to examine environmental factors (climate, water, air) alongside internal somatic forces (e.g., blood) as agents that could trigger disease. Remedies ranged from blood-letting to surgery, or took the milder course of dietary changes or *pharmaka*. These methods, likely circulated and promoted by those fluent in Hippocratic approaches, were also employed in Attic healing sanctuaries—institutions that also sought to heal pain and suffering on an individual basis. Healing cults were

[264] Aleshire 1989, p.156; Hofstetter 1978, p.157 fn.272.

using the methods of so-called "rational" medicine, in other words, but using these practices in a sacred space with supernatural care. I do not suggest that the circulating medical texts of the Hippocratic Corpus caused the burst of healing cults in fifth century Athens. The rationalization of medicine during the fifth century, as per the Hippocratic corpus, and the rise of Attic healing cults can be seen as two participants in a much broader intellectual and cultural landscape, which stressed new and individualized approaches to the treatment of illness and disease. The dissemination of medical texts and somatic knowledge during this period, and the opening up of the *techne* to those who could afford the training, was taking place alongside the foundation of sanctuaries exclusively devoted to the health of individual worshippers. Within these sacred *temene* were employed the same therapies and treatments used by contemporary physicians. In this way the rise of Attic healing cults can be seen as developing alongside and in league with "Hippocratic" medicine, as active participants and facilitators of individualized healing treatments. Though set in sacred spaces and run by priests affiliated with particular deities, Attic healing cults helped advance contemporary medical treatments, in circles that paralleled those of physicians.

That there was a larger awareness in fifth century Athens of new medical theories and approaches to bodily healing is clear from cues in Attic comedy and tragedy, as well as the flexibility inherent in the *techne* of the physician, which involved the use of rhetoric and declamation before a public audience.[265] The boundaries between medicine, religion, philosophy, and other movements were thus fluid, and shared some of the same approaches and theories; these modern categories once comprised overlapping groups of people, all of whom experienced health, illness, and the divine from an common viewpoint. This way of interpreting and making sense of the world was deeply embedded in Athenian culture. The opening-up, so to speak, of Greek medicine during the

[265] Cues in Attic comedy: Ar. *Th*. 270-274. For the overlap between Greek medical writings and Euripidean tragedy, see Kosak 2004 *passim*. On the agonistic nature of healers, and their need for declamation and persuasive rhetoric before Athenian audiences (as both 'public physicians' and those in search of customers), see Lloyd 1979, Jouanna 1999, pp.75-85.

fifth century led to a broader awareness of and interest in issues of health across Athenian society, and Attic healing cults can be seen as participants in this larger phenomenon.

Part I: Conclusion

Part I of this project surveyed a wide range of Athenian practices, events, and institutions during the late fifth century BCE. The goal of sampling Athens' policies and crises throughout this period was to first situate the emergence of Attic healing cults within their historical and socio-political milieu; doing so also provides background information for those less familiar with Classical social history, and set the scene in which the rest of the project is based. The second aim was to explore the agents and institutions that could have affected or contributed to the sudden emergence of deities concerned with health. Ultimately I suggest that the foundation of fifth century Attic healing cults—including and especially the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos—was influenced by numerous factors, including Athens' desire to manage subject territories and define a border through religious cults (1.1), the plague of 430-426 BCE (1.2), the Peloponnesian War and resultant population loss, which led to a realigning of the relationship between the *polis*, the individual, and the *oikos* (1.3), and the consolidation of medical theories and practices into what came to be known as the Hippocratic Corpus (1.4). Some of these events, such as the plague and Peloponnesian War, can be seen as more immediate factors underpinning the "healing cult phenomenon" in that they intensified the need for healthcare options; others, such as the development of Greek medicine, can be understood rather as contemporary movements that unfolded in tandem with Attic healing cults, and triggered public interest in healthcare. At issue in some of these influences—namely the plague and the Peloponnesian War—was the changing relationship between the polis and Athenian individuals, as well as the *oikos* unit; in the retooled Athenian society of the late fifth century, new collectivities and vectors of cooperation formed around individuals and the family, and this realigning of the traditional polis-bonds augmented the appeal of cults promoting the health of individuals and families.

Part II

The "Healing Cult Phenomenon" in Fifth Century Attica

Overview & Introduction

The first part of this dissertation explored the numerous factors at work upon Athenian society that augmented the appeal of cults related to health, at both the individual and family level; it also situated the greater project within the socio-historical context of fifth century Athens. The second part of this dissertation explores how during this period of empire and crisis, Athenians were negotiating their social needs through alterations in the religious landscape, most notably through the establishment of healing cults during the last quarter of the fifth century BCE. Although Athenian religion—like most polytheistic systems—exhibited a constant ebb and flow of gods within its pantheon, a case can be made that Athens experienced an atypical surge in a new, specialized type of deity at this time: the healing hero and his distinct incubation cult. The sudden emergence of deities concerned with health was striking and deliberate, and reflected a larger phenomenon at work upon Athenian society; this was manifest in the near simultaneous foundation of several healing cults across Attica in a period of less than ten years: (1) the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos (2) the cult of Asklepios on the Akropolis' south slope (3) the cult of Asklepios in the Piraeus and (4) the cult of Asklepios in the city Eleusinion. It seems likely, but is impossible to show with certainty, that three additional healing shrines were also established during this same period: (5) the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis (6) the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens and (7) Asklepios at Eleusis. In addition, (8) the cult of Amynos began to function as a healing shrine around this same time, housing both Amynos and Asklepios within the precinct by the early fourth century BCE. Seven of these cults are discussed in detail below, with evidence collated from a wide range of sources such as inscriptions, relief sculpture, literature

(Athenian historiography, comedy, and oratory), sacred architecture, and archaeological remains.

Exploring the near-contemporary foundation of these cults affords a glimpse of late fifth century society; what emerges is that Athenians were assiduously establishing healing sanctuaries at this time, and that the foundation of these new cults should be understood together, as different instances of a single larger phenomenon. Studies like those of Bronwen Wickkiser, which point toward an Athenian political agenda in explaining the establishment of a single sanctuary (the south slope Asklepieion), overlook the significance of the many healing cults founded across Attica contemporaneously. Such singular approaches can obscure the overarching historical picture, namely that the rise of Attic healing cults was a concerted, contemporary trend, one that should be understood as a new phenomenon within the religious infrastructure of ancient Athens, and possibly even Greek polytheism more broadly. Building upon the synthesized case studies from this section, in addition to that of Amphiaraos at Oropos (analyzed in Part III of this dissertation), it is possible to analyze how new, non-Attic healing deities were absorbed into the cultic landscape, with ritual playing a crucial role in their integration within religious communities. The aim of Part II is to document the sudden foundation of healing cults in late fifth century Athens, and provide a useful collection of sources for secondary consultation. Rather than privileging *only* the cult of Amphiaraos, or one of Asklepios for that matter, I hope to show that there was a fair smattering of new healing cults in Attica by the turn of the fifth century, which ranged from small deme-based shrines and rustic countryside altars, to prominent, centrally located sanctuaries equipped with incubation facilities.

First, the clarification of some key terms and a note on chronological parameters. In discussing Attic healing cults and divinities I use both the terms “god” (*theos*) and “hero”

(*heros*), because the Athenians, too, saw a degree of elasticity in the nature of figures such as Asklepios and Amphiaraos. Recent scholarship has been collapsing these once-polarized categories on the basis of epigraphic evidence, sanctuary architecture, and sacrificial ritual.[1] Secondly, what or who qualifies as a "healing hero?" In this study, Attic healing heroes are considered those divinities whose primary identity and cultic concern was individual health and healing. This rubric precludes Attic deities like Artemis Kalliste or Aphrodite at Daphni, who received anatomical votives depicting female genitalia and breasts; these offerings and the deities themselves were related to health by way of fertility, but were not primarily healing deities. Rather, the anatomical dedications were tied to the goddesses' role in overseeing coming of age rituals, childbirth, and connubial affairs in the lives of their (largely female) worshippers.[2] Similarly, Herakles had a kourotrophic role in Athens, and the shadowy hero Pankrates also seems to have had healing properties, yet neither catered primarily or exclusively to healing within their Attic cults.[3]

Attic healing sanctuaries that practiced incubation, and were thus constructed with sleeping chambers, *enkoimeteria,* and temple healing in mind, exemplify the category of "healing cult." The cults of Asklepios in the Piraeus and on the Akropolis' south slope were both equipped with these specialized spaces, whose architectural form allowed for the physical function of healing. The cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos also had an elaborate

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[1] Ekroth 2002. In Attica, for example, sanctuaries of Asklepios contain elements that can be described as "chthonic," such as the *bothros* in the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Akropolis, and the undeniable iconographic similarities between the Telemachos Monument and so-called *Totenmahlreliefs* (Riethmüller 1999, pp. 123-43; Beschi 1967/68, 1982). Yet within the same sanctuary can be found a full altar and temple (Papaefthymiou 2009, pp. 67-90; Lefantzis and Jensen 2009, pp. 91-124). Asklepios is also referred to as *theos* throughout Aristophanes' *Ploutos*, in addition to the Lykourgan "Accounts of the Treasurers of the Other Gods," *SEG* LIV 143.21, and other inscriptions. In the case of the Heros Iatros, it would seem obvious that we are here dealing with a "hero," yet two inventories recording the cult's possessions describe the healer throughout as "theos" (*IG* II^2 839-840, discussed below). These examples reveal the fluidity inherent in Athenian understandings of "heros" and "theos," and my employment of both in describing a single healing figure is thus in keeping with ancient precedent.

[2] Paus. 1.29.2; Hesychios *κ* 489; cf. *IG* II^2 4665-8. Philadelpheus 1927, pp.155-163; Travlos 1971, pp.301-2, 322; Woodhead 1959, pp.273-288; Trendall 1977, p.99; Rosenzweig 2004, pp.41-44; Delivorrias 1968, pp.24-5; Vikela 2008, pp.35-48; Delivorrias 2008, pp.49-55.

[3] Woodford 1971, pp. 211-25; Larson 2007, pp.184-187; Vikela 1994; Kearns 1989, pp.35-6.

incubation hall, and it is possible though uncertain that the sanctuary of the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens did as well. Yet smaller cults that lacked an incubation hall, perhaps *temene* that could better be termed "shrines" rather than "sanctuaries," are also considered within this study. Cults like those of Amynos and the *Heros Iatros* were functioning by the early fourth century at the very latest as healing shrines on the basis of votive and inscriptional evidence; they lacked, however, the developed incubation chambers found in larger sanctuaries, and probably did not provide medical services on site. Yet as these cults concerned themselves foremost or exclusively with matters of health, they fit our first criterion.

Let us now establish some chronological parameters. As for issues of dating, what exactly is meant by "early" Attic healing cults? I primarily consider cults with known foundation dates in the last quarter of the fifth century, loosely bracketed between 425-400 BCE. Corresponding to the years of the Peloponnesian War, this is the period in which several healing cults can be said with certainty to have been founded in Attica; I do not believe that we can responsibly date any Attic healing cults before this period on the basis of current evidence. If evidence suggests that a cult could have stretched back into the fifth century, it is presented and considered, even if the earliest tangible source only dates to the fourth century BCE. By limiting the study to this rough 25 year window, which overlaps in time with a period of documented historical crisis, the emergence of Attic healing cults unfolds as a concentrated, contextualized phenomenon that was embedded in the social life of the city. The popularity of Classical healing cults was a harbinger of an even greater upsurge during the Hellenistic period, as cult centers like those at Kos and Pergamon came to resemble miniature cities onto themselves, so complex and multivalent would healing sanctuaries become in later centuries. Yet by focusing our attentions on the origins of these healing cults in a specific place and time, it is possible to explore the climate and

circumstances under which they emerged and gained popularity in a single polity. By examining the initial kernel of what would become complex and nationalistic cult centers—drawing worshippers from all corners of the ancient world— we can explore *why* these healing cults held such appeal to the Greeks, at least in their earliest years in the *polis* of Athens.

What was significant about early Attic healing cults more broadly was the degree of specialization inherent to them, and the fact that at least four healing sanctuaries (but as many as eight) were established in Attica at nearly the same time. This breaks the pattern of "normal" cult acquisition in polytheistic systems, and stands out as a unique phenomenon worthy of analysis. These new healing cults lacked the official or state focus seen in the cults of Athena Polias or Artemis Brauronia, for example. The rite of incubation in particular was aimed at individuals and families, and the entirety of the goings-on within the precinct involved a high degree of personalized attention, through the interaction of deity, cult personnel, and worshipper. Within these new Attic healing cults, the individual was the primary unit and focus of the religious experience, and in tailoring themselved to private needs, healing sanctuaries fall well within the sphere of "personal" religion as discussed in the introduction.[4] The ritual actions of the worshipper—prayer, dedication, sacrifice, incubation—were met by an immediate response from the healing deity, as incubation provided a direct channel to the divine through dream and epiphany.[5]

That the rite of incubation was a central part of healing cults can also be seen architecturally, as the *enkoimeterion*, or incubation hall, underwent great expansion and embellishment over the years, not only at Attic sites like Oropos and the south slope Asklepieion, but across the Greek world. Within all of these sanctuaries, the incubation hall surpassed the temple in size and, often, spatial centrality, thus intimating that the process of

[4] Kindt 2015, pp.35-50.
[5] Platt 2015, pp.491-504.

incubation came to lie at the very heart of the healing process. It comes as no surprise that many votive reliefs dedicated to Attic healing heroes depict scenes of incubation, often with the supine worshipper in intimate proximity to the healing deity. Incubation, and the unique opportunity it afforded for individualized attention and care, was the innovation that made these cults appeal to Athenian society during the late fifth century, on account of the various changes and influences examined in Part I. The promise of health and healing, on an individual basis, was what led to the rise of Attic healing cults, and what made their establishment a concerted, connected trend, in addition to a new phenomenon within the religious infrastructure of Athens.

We might also wonder—before the arrival of specialized healing cults like those of Asklepios or Amphiaraos—whether there were other, earlier deities who could properly handle issues of health and healing in Attica. In other words, to whom did an ill or injured Athenian turn prior to the establishment of specialized healing cults in the late fifth century? Aside from mortal physicians, of course, an earlier avenue for health concerns would have involved Olympian gods with concentrated epithets. A specialized epithet would ensure that a select aspect of the god was being channeled, and that the communication would reach the god in the capacity that dealt first and foremost with health.[6] Robert Parker notes that Apollo *Paion* had a sanctuary in Athens before the arrival of Asklepios, and that both Apollo and Herakles are mentioned with the title *Alexikakos* in connection with the great plague.[7] Of the female Olympian deities in Athens, Athena adopted the Hygieia epithet and was worshipped as such on the Athenian Akropolis prior to the mid fifth century; ample votives inscriptions attest her presence and popularity in Classical Athens, and Hurwit notes that the worship of Athena-Hygieia on the Akropolis drops off sharply after Asklepios and Hygieia—now her own free agent—received a new

[6] Parker 2003; Versnel 2011, pp.239-308.
[7] Parker 1996, p.175.

south slope sanctuary.[8]

In addition to the health-related subspecialties of Olympian deities, it is possible that the *Heros Iatros* or the shadowy hero Amynos were receiving cult in Athens by the mid fifth or even the sixth centuries BCE, respectively. The chronology of these cults is, however, far from clear. If these cults indeed existed that early, they would illuminate the situation in Attica before the arrival of large-scale healing sanctuaries like those of Asklepios or Amphiaraos, with Athenians accessing these small shrines for health concerns. We might then imagine—in addition to Athena Hygieia and Apollo Paian—an Attica strewn with small deme-based hero shrines concerned primarily or peripherally with health and well-being, prophylactic or otherwise. But if the *Heros Iatros* and Amynos only came to receive healing shrines in the later fifth century, in league with the larger healing cults of Asklepios and Amphiaraos, then we can assume that in addition to physicians, health concerns were

[8] "Athena Hygieia lost influence in the course of the Classical period: there were apparently no private dedications to her from the Acropolis after 420/19, when the sanctuary of the healing god Asklepios was founded on the south slope," so says Hurwit 1999, p. 36. In Athens, Hygieia first appears on the Akropolis already fused to Athena by c.475 BCE, if we accept that a fragmentary statue base found on the Akropolis—a dedication by the potter Euphronios—did indeed name Athena Hygieia (as per *ARV*[2] 1556; *IG* I[3] 824; Aleshire 1989, p.12; Shapiro 1993, p.125). Should we opt for skepticism, all doubts are assuaged by a roughly contemporary red-figure pottery sherd from c.470, with a graffito incised on the shield of a figure clasping a spear, likely Athena (Wolters 1891, p. 154; Graef & Langlotz 1933, p.119 no. 1367). Interestingly, the shield bears the image of a snake, a common iconographic trapping of later healing heroes. The inscription reads:

[.] . . . [- - -]
[Ἀ]θενα[ίαι]
3 [h]υγιεί[αι]
[Κ]αλλὶς
ἐποίεσ[ε]
6 καὶ ἀνέθ[εκεν]

Also of the fifth century BCE is a sizable statue base of Athena Hygieia (*IG* I[3] 506) on the Akropolis, still visible today just east of the Propylaia, inscribed Ἀθεναῖοι τῆι Ἀθεναίαι τῆι Ὑγιείαι | Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθεναῖος; this base has been associated with Plutarch's anecdote concerning a workman from the Periklean building program of the 430s (Plut. *Per*. 13.12-13). Working on the Propylaia, he fell from a great height and was severely injured. In a dream, the goddess Athena appeared to Perikles and advised a course of treatment; this led to the restored health of the workman and also the dedication of a "bronze statue of Athena Hygieia on the Akropolis near her altar" (Plut. *Per*. 13.7-8). Plutarch's relaying of this story obviously smacks of later incubation rituals, with the mechanism of a dream oracle, but also suggests that Athena Hygieia already was a known and revered entity by Perikles' day, with an altar on the Akropolis. This altar was discovered *in situ* beside the dedicated statue base that, it should be underscored, was a public dedication (**Ἀθεναῖοι** τῆι Ἀθεναίαι τῆι Ὑγιείαι). We also know from a fourth century speech of Lykourgos that the cult of Athena Hygieia had its own priestess (Mikalson 1998, p.24). The cult of Athena Hygieia was rare outside of, but not limited to, the Athenian Akropolis; she turns up in Attica at Acharnai, in the fourth century CE at Epidauros, and probably at Delphi (Paus. 1.31.6; *IG* IV 428; Shapiro 1993, p.126; Stafford 2005, p.124).

primarily addressed by gods with health-targeting epithets like Athena Hygieia or Apollo Paian. Now that our terms have been defined and chronological parameters established, we can begin with what is often considered the first cult to specialize in healing in Attica, that of the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis.

2.1 Early Attic Healing Cults: The *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis

So far this study has made reference to several sanctuaries of Asklepios and one of Amphiaraos at Oropos, yet scholars maintain that Asklepios was not the *first* hero to specialize in healing in Attica. An earlier, hazier deity claims that position, the anonymous *Heros Iatros* in his cult at Eleusis.[9] This shadowy hero, whose name advertised his realm of expertise (the "Physician Hero"), was primarily concerned with health and healing; his cult could have employed techniques similar to those of practicing physicians, if we take the *iatros* title literally. It is possible that the Heros Iatros was a sort of ur-Asklepios figure—though lacking Homeric credentials and an Olympian mythology—to whom Athenians could have turned for health concerns prior to the last quarter of the fifth century. This hero was not tied to a single location, but rather turns up at several sites across Attica, and in much later sources even acquires a proper name on occasion.[10] Depending on the foundation date, the cult of the Physician Hero at Eleusis could provide a glimpse of the situation in Attica by the mid fifth century BCE or earlier, with smaller, nameless healing shrines at work within local deme communities.

This early healing cult was situated on the Attic periphery in the deme of Eleusis. The largest deme in the southwestern corner of Attica, Eleusis was located within the Thriasian plain, roughly 14 miles from the center of Athens (Fig. 16). Eleusis served as a

[9] Verbanck-Piérard 2000, p.299; Gorrini 2001, pp.304-06; Kearns 1989, pp.14-21.
[10] Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.,* 263.11.

border zone between Athens and Megara, and was best known for its sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone and the cult's accompanying festival, the Greater Mysteries. Less prominent within the deme, but undoubtedly an important part of the religious landscape, was a shrine of the *Heros Iatros*. Two fragmentary inscriptions from the Classical period attest the Physician Hero's presence at Eleusis; a much later source notes that the hero's name was Oresinios, but because this source is quite late, and fifth century BCE inscriptions refer to the hero exclusively as "Heros Iatros," this Classical title will be used throughout this project.[11] The shrine's location has not been identified, though Kutsch speculated that it would have been in the vicinity of the Asklepieion, north of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.[12]

The presence of this healing cult during the Classical period has been determined on the basis of two fifth century inscriptions, *IG* I^3 393 and *IG* I^3 395, and nothing more. Though the inscriptions reveal little about the workings of the cult or the type of sanctuary in which the Physician Hero received worship, the inscriptions do suggest that this healer was a known presence within the deme, and likely had a shrine or other built-structure there in which he received cult. These two inscriptions provide the early date for the cult's establishment, and are the only evidence for the existence of the Classical shrine; in other words, these inscriptions have led scholars to claim—perhaps a bit brazenly—that the Heros Iatros at Eleusis was the first specialized healing cult in Attica. For example, it is on these epigraphic grounds that Verbanck-Piérard writes "[t]outefois, c'est l'existence du *ἥρως ἰατρός* d'Eleusis qui nous permet d'affirmer l'ancienneté de ce type de culte en Attique; puisqu'il est attesté par des inscriptions de la première moitié du v^e siècle."[13] Gorrini follows suit, similarly claiming "[s]i tenga presente come le attestazioni epigrafiche

[11] Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.,* 263.11.
[12] Kutsch 1913, p.38. Though as far as I can tell, there is no reason to assume this to have been the case.
[13] Verbanck-Piérard 2000, p.299.

eleusinie di *heros iatros* siano le più antiche in nostro possesso per l'Attica. Sono, infatti, datate rispettivamente al 450-45 a.C. e al 420 a.C.: in altre parole, prima dell'introduzione del culto di Asklepios a Atene, a Eleusi c'era un *heros iatros*."[14] In order to substantiate such claims, however, it is necessary to examine these inscriptions in greater detail, especially as the two brief references to the *Heros Iatros* turn out to be quite complicated with regard to date, findspot, and thematic content. Both require caution and further scrutiny.

The first appearance of the *Heros Iatros* in Attica occurs on *IG* I^3 395, a fragmentary inscription that seems to have been a building contract. That the inscription dates between 450-445 BCE has been conventionally—and problematically— agreed upon by scholars.[15] The *stele* was recovered at Eleusis in the late 19th century built into a late Roman or Byzantine construction near the church of Saint Zacharias, which currently serves as the site's museum;[16] the stone is complete on the right hand side, but broken at the left. The stoichedon inscription relates to a large-scale construction project, and was likely an annual public building account as there is a heading that details to and from whom payments were being made (τοῖ *h*έροι τοῖ ἰατροῖ, l.2; παρὰ κολακρετόν, l.4); the middle part of the inscription notes that the "expenditures were these" (ἀναλόματα τάδε, l.7), before itemizing specific types of construction materials. Presumably on the (missing) left hand side of the inscription would have been the itemized amounts of funds, i.e., 300 drachmas, 40 drachmas, etc.[17] References to different types of stone, the cutting of stone in quarries, methods of stone-transport, and types of payments (various forms of μισθός) abound.

[14] Gorrini 2001, p. 306.
[15] Philios, *AE* 1890, pp.117-122, n.58; *AE.* 1892, p.258; Bannier, *Rh. Mus.* 61, 1906, pp.219-220, *Berl. Phil. Woch*. 33, 1913, p.318, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 35, 1915, pp.1614-5; Vallois, *REA* 35, 1933, pp.195-200; Raubitschek 1940, p.478, with *SEG* 10.245; Shear 1966, pp.163-175, 338; Wycherley 1974, pp.184-5; Gorrini 2002, p.306.
[16] Philios, *AE* 1890, cols.117-122, n.58. Inv. No. E93
[17] See Philios, *AE* 1890, cols.117-122; Philios, *AE* 1892, col.258; Bannier 1906 *RhM* 61, p.219; Bannier 1913 *PhilWoch* col.318, p.219; Bannier 1915 *PhilWoch* col.1614-5; *I.Eleusis* 23 (Clinton).

***IG* I³ 395**[18]

[λέμματα τάδε]

1 — — *h*ιππόνον μί[σθοσις]
— — τôι *h*έροι τôι ἰατ[ρôι — —]
— — παρὰ τôν προτέρο[ν] ἐ[πιστατôν]
— — παρὰ κολακρετôν
5 — — οἰκεμάτον μίσθοσις
vacat spatium unius versus
[ἀ]ναλόματα τάδε
— — [λ]ίθον τομὲ Αἰγιναίον καὶ Στερ[ι|ᾶ]θεν
— — [να]υσὶ λιθαγογοῖς
10 — — [λιθ]οκομικόν
— — [λιθ]οργοῖς τôμ πορίνον
— — [λίθο]ν τομὲ τôμ μελάνον
— — [λιθορ]γοῖς τôμ μελάνον
— — [μισθόμ]ατα
15 — — […7…] *vacat*
— — […8….]ον
— — [….9….]ον
[μισθὸς *h*ιερ]οποιοῖς
[καὶ ἀρχιτέκτ]ονι
20 — — [….11…..] *vacat*

The record lists the expenditures for an unknown construction project; as noted above, the account was arranged in a double column with the expenditure amounts recorded in the now missing left hand column, with the descriptions itemized on the right. The *Epistatai* were the agents responsible for paying the expenses and publishing the account (l.3); a board of *Hieropoioi* too played some role in the organization of this construction project (l.18). As for the work that the overseers had set in progress, it seems that payments were being made for the cutting and working of stone from Aigina and Steiria on the east coast of Attica (l.8, 11). A third type of stone is also mentioned in ll.12-13, λίθον μελάνον; this dark stone has been interpreted as the dark blue-gray Eleusinian limestone that was used in

[18] *IG* I^3 395. *IG* I^3 395= *IG* I^2 336 (Hiller)= *SEG* 36.33. See Raubitschek 1940 *AJP* 61, p.478 n.11; Accame 1955 *RivFil* 83, p.156.

numerous construction projects in fifth century Athens, from the steps of orthostate walls of the Telesterion to the Erechtheion frieze.[19]

But the line of interest to us is the second, τôι *h*έροι τôι ἰατ[ρôι — —]. The inscription is concerned with stone cutting and transport, construction, payments for goods and services, and seems to emphasize specific types of marble for building materials; could this suggest that the *Heros Iatros* was receiving a built structure at Eleusis? The dative form suggests that something was clearly being given to or constructed for the Physician Hero, who appears not amongst the expenditures, but rather in the opening heading of the inscription. Within the opening of the inscription, most of the payments to groups or boards involve a conjunction such as παρά, or the noun μίσθοσις; yet the Physician Hero is set apart as having neither. I think it is entirely possible that this building contract preserves a construction project (a shrine?) undertaken *for* the Physician Hero, or possibly a sacrifice or repair to some pre-existing structure that already lodged him. Again, this inscription is understood to contain the earliest reference to a specialized Attic healing cult, that of the *Heros Iatros*, and accordingly dates the invisible shrine at Eleusis to 450-445 BCE— quite early, and over two decades before the arrival of Asklepios in Attica. Would cults like this— small and local, which participated in the community networks of individual demes— have paved the way in Attica for the larger, Panhellenic healing cult of Asklepios? Or should we attach significance to location, citing the early presence of the Physician Hero at Eleusis as evidence for a connection with Demeter and Kore in matters of health and healing, or between the *gene* of the Eleusinian priesthoods and early Attic healing cults? All of these important issues hinge upon the inscription's mid-fifth century date. Because this date is so important in assessing the cult's chronology, and has been accepted without question in studies relating to both the building inscription itself and healing cults more generally, the

[19] *IG* I² 372.199-200; Shear 1966, p.167.

criteria used to determine the 450-445 BCE date require examination.[20] Again, the implications of this being the first cult in Attica to specialize in healing are significant, and could reveal the situation on the ground, so to speak, before non-Athenian healing cults took root wholesale across Attica.

Though a date between 450-445 BCE has been disseminated throughout the scholarship, the extant inscription preserves no archon year or similarly straightforward chronological indicator. There is no overtly historical event or named individual anywhere in the inscription that could suggest a date for the *stele*. As construction was ongoing at Eleusis throughout the mid-late fifth century on what grounds, in other words, does it date to the mid fifth century? One criterion used in assigning the date was the inscription's letter-forms.[21] The script abounds in three-bar sigmas, and one wonders to what extent this siren-like sibilant steered the stone's dating to the early-mid 440s BCE. The chronology of many fifth century inscriptions, like their Archaic predecessors, still rests upon the assumption that systemic, stylistic fluctuations in incised letter forms can be understood as a diachronic trend; paleographic style has been used accordingly as a diagnostic tool for dating inscriptions. The three-bar sigma is at the epicenter of the debate, widely assumed to have been employed in official Athenian inscriptions prior to the mid-440s (and *only* prior to the mid-440s, went the assumption).[22] At stake is the dating of numerous "aggressive" actions of the Athenian democracy, and whether they can be seen as Periklean policies or those of the hawk-like demagogues such as Cleon, who followed him in the 420s. A brief

[20] For a date between 450-445 BCE see Philios, *AE* 1890, cols.117-122; Philios, *AE* 1892, col.258; Bannier 1906 *RhM* 61, p.219; Bannier 1913 *PhilWoch* col.318, p.219; Bannier 1915 *PhilWoch* col.1614-5; *IG* I^2 336 (Hiller); Raubitschek 1940 *AJP* 61, p.478 n.11; Accame 1955 *RivFil* 83, p.156; Shear 1966, p.174. Clinton most recently in *I.Eleusis* 23 notes "ca.450-445 BCE?"
[21] Shear 1966, p.174.
[22] For a summary of the present state of the modern controversy over the chronological significance of the three- versus four-bar sigma, see Rhodes 2008, pp.501-6 (with reams of previous bibliography), and Mattingly 1996. So too Papazarkadas 2009.

discussion is required of *why* dating by letter form is both unreliable and unresponsible, and must be dispensed with in future scholarship on Athenian history and epigraphy.

The beginning of the end for this rigid dating scheme came only recently with the so-called Egesta Decree, an important inscription recording an alliance between Athens and Egesta; the date was ultimately dependent upon the reading of the archon year, with historic implications coloring the interpretation of Athenian motives for war and alliances with Sicily. Because the stone's incisor used three-bar sigmas (in addition to tailed rhos), an archon from the mid fifth century was read onto the inscription, rather than one from the last quarter of the fifth century. On this stylistic tip-off the Egesta Decree was dated to 458/7 BCE, rather than 418/17 BCE. And so went the history of the Athenian Empire. In the late 1980s, however, scientific dating methods were applied to the inscription, such as laser scanning and image enhancement techniques. This shed new light, quite literally, on the reading of the archon's name, and led almost immediately to the down-dating of this decree— in spite of its glaring three-bar sigmas—from the mid fifth century to the year 418/17.[23] The very way in which Athenian history was understood during the years of the Peloponnesian War changed, and still invites reinterpretation.

In essence, this episode and similar ones illustrate the treacheries inherent in dating by style, as variations in letter-form can exist synchronically. Though many still struggle to swallow this bitter little pill—and indeed, the criterion of dating according to the three-bar sigma has been "one of the most misleading obsessions that has ever haunted any period of Greek history"—it is gradually being accepted that disparities in style cannot always be assessed on a diachronic basis, because style alone does not provide definitive or absolute

[23] For the original ground-breaking study of the Egesta decree, see Chambers, Gallucci, and Spanos 1990, pp. 38-63, which proved with photo-enhancement and laser scanning techniques what poor Mattingly, Cassandra-like, had suggested on more than one occasion. For an opponent, see, e.g., Henry 1992, pp. 137-146, with Chambers' reply in *ZPE* 98 (1993), pp. 71-74; and a further response from Henry 1995, pp. 237-40; cf. now also Dawson 1996, pp. 248-252, and Vickers 1996, pp.171-4. Most recently, Rhodes 2008, Papazarkadas 2009.

dates.[24] This discussion is introduced here in an early section of the dissertation, as a general caveat for the many inscriptions with which it will deal, especially cases in which a single inscription is used as the primary tool for determining the chronology of a cult (the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis). The consequences of stylistic dating are perhaps less dire for our Eleusis building inscription than for the Egesta Decree, but are quite important nonetheless for assessing early Attic healing cults. While this *Heros Iatros* building contract does employ three bar sigmas, this alone cannot stand as proof for a 450-445 BCE date.

Another claim in support of the 450-445 BCE date was put forth on historical grounds, with regard to the construction recorded on the *stele*: the cutting and transport of different types of stone from disparate sources, the detailed methods of transport (e.g., [να]υσὶ λιθαγογοῖς, accepting the restoration), etc.[25] This historical or perhaps historicizing argument was advanced by T. Leslie Shear Jr., himself a big proponent of dating by letter form, on the basis that the building activity referenced in the inscription should be understood to relate to the first construction-phase of the Periklean Telesterion.[26] The Telesterion was the initiation hall for the Greater Mysteries, and the first "Periklean" iteration was undertaken by the architect Iktinos around 448-447 BCE; it was very brief, and construction was abandoned very soon after it had began.[27] It has been noted that for the third type of stone referenced in the inscription (λίθον μελάνον), there was no expenditure for its transportation from quarry to sanctuary, in contrast to the other two types of stone which were transported by ships from Aigina and Steiria (ναυσὶ λιθαγογοῖς), and then the moving of stone from the waterfront to the sanctuary (λιθοκομικόν). Shear

[24] Papazarkadas 2009, p.67. While the myth of the three-bar sigma in Attic epigraphy is a clear instance of the perils of dating stylistically, the principle can and should be extended, to a degree I believe, to Attic sculpture and visual arts such as vase painting. On the methodological problems of dating by style, see Neer 2005.
[25] Shear 1966, pp. 163-175.
[26] Shear 1966, pp. 174.
[27] Shear 1966, pp. 163-175. Vallois 1933, *REA* 35 pp. 195-200, on the other hand, understands this building inscription to relate to the city Eleusinion in central Athens.

infers that this Eleusinian stone was quarried from the site of Eleusis itself, and that the limestone was cut out of the site during the Telesterion's expansion.[28]

It must be stressed, however, that references to the Telesterion and Eleusis appear nowhere in the extant inscription, and some scholars even think that this account refers to construction within the city Eleusinion in the Athenian Agora, rather than the Eleusinion at Eleusis.[29] Duplicate copies of *stelai* were lodged at both Eleusis and in the *astu* Eleusinion in central Athens, and it is possible that this inscription was a "duplicate" of a stele erected in central Athens, that referenced building activity there rather than at Eleusis.[30] At any rate, the references to the cutting and transport of marble are entirely unanchored in any historically obvious building or period of construction, and construction at Eleusis, including within the Telesterion, was ongoing throughout the fifth century. One could just as easily point to the construction of a later phase of the Telesterion, perhaps undertaken by the post-Iktinian architect Koroibos and his workshop (c.425 BCE), for example, and arrive at the same "historical" conclusion as did Shear in his date of 448/7 BCE.[31]

A closer analysis of the purported "earliest" attestation of an Attic healing cult thus finishes rather inconclusively—or at least without a precise foundation date of 448/7 BCE. I suggest instead an alternative proposal, namely the suggestion of a later, more chronologically responsible *range* of c.431-420 BCE for this Physician Hero inscription. First, there is no need to link this inscription with the brief work of Iktinos on the Telesterion; if we want to link the inscription with the Telesterion—which Shear does make

[28] Shear 1966, p. 165-69. I think this scenario is possible, but Shear does not once mention and in fact avoids any discussion of the *Heros Iatros* in his eagerness to link this *stele* with the Periklean Telesterion.
[29] Vallois 1933, *REA* 35 pp. 195-200.
[30] *cf*. the duplicate inventories found at Brauron and on the Athenian Akropolis, recording the cultic property of Artemis Brauronia. That this *stele* references construction at the central Athenian Eleusinion, see Vallois 1933, *REA* 35 pp. 195-200.
[31] Koroibos, with Metagenes and Xenokles: Plut. *Per*. 13. On the necessity of downdating the floruit of Koroibos (whose career was hemmed in the the years prior to 445 BCE on the basis of three-bar sigmas!), see Mattingly 1996, pp.198, 336-342. Cooper and Scranton suggest that Koroibos was at Eleusis significantly later, too, based on a decree from around 411/10 BCE (*IG* I^3 32 = *SEG* 10.24), see Cooper 1996, p.399.

a convincing argument for—then the building's later and more significant construction phase would better suit the construction recorded on the inscription. Mattingly's careful scrutiny of the epigraphical sources associated with the post-Iktinos "Periklean" Telesterion dates the building's main phase of construction between 430 and 424 BCE; *SEG* 10.24.24-7 and Plutarch (*Per*. 13) show the architect Koroibos to have been at work in both Eleusis and Athens during this time, and after Koroibos died, two other men oversaw the completion of the Telesterion.[32] There was other building activity at Eleusis during the 420s, and the *Heros Iatros* decree can more responsibly be grouped alongside the likes of *IG* I^2 76 and 81 (the Rheitos Decree). It seems that a date after 431 BCE could more easily explain the stone quarried from Aigina (l.8), an island that became exploitable after the local Aeginetans were removed and the isle was settled with Athenians during the first year of the Peloponnesian War.[33] Additional grounds on which to assess the inscription's chronology can be found in the dative singular endings of line 2, τôι *hέ*ροι τôι ίατ[ρôι — —]. The admittedly fragmentary inscription seems to be an official building-contract that employs the Attic (rather than Ionic) alphabet; the presence of οι instead of ω in the dative singular should signal a date prior to 403 BCE, when Athens officially adopted the Ionic alphabet for public inscriptions.[34] The absence of this vowel shift only supports a mid-late fifth century date in a very general way, and cannot offer a narrower chronology. This inscription therefore seems to safely date well before the end of the fifth c. BCE, but probably after 431 BCE on account of the Aeginetan marble exploited for construction materials. This window, 431-403 BCE, saw ample building activity at the site of Eleusis, which could explain the vague

[32] Mattingly 1996, p.198.
[33] Thucydides is the informant for these events, and he notes that Athens was directly involved in the affairs of Aigina between 457-404 BCE; though Aigina was forced to give up her fleet, pull down walls, and pay tribute sometime after 457 BCE, it was only in 431 BCE that the Aiginetans were ousted and Athenian settlers planted on the island, with lands appropriated and reallocated as in the kleruchies: Thuc. 1.105.2, 108.4 (cf. Hornblower 2004, p.222). For the Athenian occupation of Aigina and land distributions see Plut. *Per.* 34.2; Diod. Sic. 12.44.2; Strabo 8.6.16.
[34] Threatte 1980, pp. 26-30.

construction referenced by the inscription. But exactly *when* within this chronological period is indeterminable on the basis of current evidence and, indeed, no shrine or votive to the *Heros Iatros* has ever been found at Eleusis.

And so, the claim for a cult of the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis by 450-445 BCE seems a highly uncertain one. I have tried to show that the inscription's date is neither straightforward nor obvious, and that scholars asserting the presence of the Physician Hero by 445 BCE have left their epigraphic sources unexamined. If this early date *is* correct, the *Heros Iatros* would indeed be the first Attic cult known to specialize in healing; we could then conclude that small, deme-based shrines such as this offered healing options before the wholesale establishment of healing cults like those of Asklepios in the later fifth century. If, however, the mid-fifth century date is suspect—resting as it does primarily on the appearance of letter forms, and an historicizing and dubious connection to the Telesterion of Iktinos—then it is possible that this cult came to Eleusis several decades later, perhaps in the last quarter of the fifth century when other healing cults were taking root in Attica. The cult of the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis would, in that case, be another example of Athens establishing cults that addressed issues of health during the Peloponnesian War. At the very least, this inscription reveals that the hero had a presence in Attica by the last quarter of the fifth century, a claim supported by a second inscription traditionally dated c. 420 BCE.[35]

If *IG* I^3 395 proves troublesome with regard to thematic content and dating, the second inscription cited by scholars in support of the early cult of the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis, *IG* I^3 393, is equally so. This stoichedon inscription is comprised of joining pieces that share distinctive punctuation marks: three shorter, vertical strokes that meet two longer, horizontal strokes to essentially form a rectangle with a dividing line in the middle, like an archaic heta rotated 90 degrees (Fig. 17). Its pieces (e.g., "Fragment A") were found *not* at

[35] *IG* I^3 395, *SEG* 10.211: Raubitschek 1943, pp. 36-7; Verbanck-Piérard 2000, p.299; Gorrini 2001, p. 306.

Eleusis but in the Athenian Agora, built into a Byzantine wall northeast of the Odeion.[36] Though found in central Athens, the inscription is associated with *stelai* from Eleusis because of distinct similarities in punctuation (the strange rotated archaic *heta*, Fig.17), and parallel content involving contracts and rentals; it is accordingly understood by several scholars as a duplicate *stele* erected in sanctuaries both in Eleusis and Athens.

<u>*IG* I³ 393 (EM 12458 & 13372):</u>

(1) [. . . . . 22 . . . . .] ṭα[ρὰ] Νικο[μάχο — — — —]
[. . . . . 20 . . . . .]ίο σχοίνον τιμέ — — — — — — —
[.] πα[ρὰ . . . . . 12 . . . . .] τô *h*έρο τô [ί]ατρô Φιλ — — —
[.]λο· Ἐλευσιṇ[ίο καὶ συ]ναρχόντο[ν λί]θο ṭιṃ[έ — — — —]
(5) ṭετράποδος Πεντελεϊκô Δ̣ — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
[.]ν λίθοιν δυοῖν ὁκτοπόδοι[ν — — — — — — — — — — — —]
ΗΡΓΗ παρὰ *h*ιεροποι[ôν Ἐλευσῖνι — — — — — — — —]
Χσυπεταi[όνος καὶ συναρχόντον — — — — — — — — — — —]

Here we see the *Heros Iatros* again referenced in the context of a fragmentary building contract (l.3), though this time in the genitive (with το = τοῦ). The inscription has several notable syntactical features, such as "Χσ" instead of "Ξ" for the deme of Xypete, and the use of the dual in λίθοιν δυοῖν ὀκτοπόδοι[ν]. The inscription is concerned with payments made by individuals and groups such as the *hieropoioi* (cf. the restoration in the previous inscription, *IG* I³ 395.18. These payments seem related in some capacity to building activity at Eleusis (l.4), as this inscription, too, is concerned with the acquisition of stone: a block of Pentelic marble that was four feet in length (l.5), and two other stone blocks that were eight feet in length (l.6). The similarities to the previous inscription are striking, and in both the *Heros Iatros* appears in the context of a building contract, perhaps indicating that his cult structure, shrine or otherwise, was undergoing construction or repair, or possibly receiving

[36] *IG* I³ 393; EM 13372; Agora I 3749; cf. *SEG* 10.211, fragments of *stelai* from Eleusis and Athens dated to c.424 BCE to which Raubitschek compares the Athenian Agora fragments.

a payment or sacrifice of some sort.[37] It is clear that by the time of both inscriptions, the cult of the Physician Hero was established in Attica; I argue that both inscriptions, and thus the earliest attestation of the *Heros Iatros*, should be dated sometime around 420 BCE.

Though this inscription mentions Ἐλευσιν̣[ίο] in line 4 and shares punctuation with fragmentary inscriptions known from Eleusis, a troubling concern is that the stone was found in the Athenian Agora. Can scholars such as Gorrini and Verbanck-Piérard really say with certainty that this inscription stands as proof that the *Heros Iatros* at *Eleusis* was the earliest Attic healing cult? It is likely that this stone came from the city Eleusinion in the Agora, and though we know that copies of public decrees were displayed both there and at Eleusis as duplicate *stelai*, we would have to assume that this Agora decree was, firstly, a copy of one set up at Eleusis, and secondly that the cult referenced was that of the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis, rather than the nearby shrine to the same healer in central Athens. Raubitschek accepted that this inscription did indeed reference construction at Eleusis, stating "it may therefore be assumed that the Agora fragment belongs to a copy of the Eleusinian inscription which was set up in the Eleusinion in Athens;" Clinton and Papazarkadas agree.[38]

It seems responsible to at least entertain the possibility that the inscription related to the cult of the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens (see 2.2 below), which was situated not far from the inscription's findspot, rather than the invisible shrine at Eleusis. Assuming

[37] What has long puzzled me about both *IG* I^3 393 and 395 is the position and brevity of the reference to the *Heros Iatros*; it is found toward the beginning of both inscriptions and thus likely part of a heading. It is brief as can be and, though possible, it seems like the cutting and transportation of stone—with which the records are primarily concerned—was for a large-scale building project bigger than an unknown shrine for the Physician Hero. Could a sacred official of the cult of *Heros Iatros* been referenced in *IG* I^3 393.3? Or perhaps the *Heros Iatros* was receiving payment for goods from a cult-owned property (a quarry, e.g.)? I would be keen for reader feedback on this issue.

[38] Raubitschek 1943, p.36-7. In support of his argument, Raubitschek references three fragmentary inscriptions from Eleusis that employ the same unusual punctuation marks, and whose content also relates to construction (*SEG* 3.35, 37; *SEG* 10.211): all fragments begin their clauses with παρά, reference stone blocks, contain numerals, and utilize similar, idiosyncratic vocabulary (e.g., σχοίνον in *IG* I^3 394.13, and in *IG* I^3 393.2). It is impossible, he concedes, that the Agora inscription belongs to the same *stele* as the other Eleusis fragments; the thickness of the stone is different, as are the letters forms and line spacings; he does see them all as related and sharing a historical context and date. Clinton: *I.Eleusis* 37; Papazarkadas 2011, p.32 fn.76.

nonetheless, with Raubitschek et al., that this Agora inscription was a copy of one from Eleusis, and that its contents addressed construction at Eleusis, rather central Athens, on what basis does it date to c.420 BCE? Regrettably, the date rests on shaky, comparative grounds: for one of the Eleusis fragments with which this Agora inscription shares common features (vocabulary, punctuation, e.g.), it was suggested that the inscription contains a reference to a monetary contribution that came as a tithe from the ransom of prisoners of war.[39] The date of 424 was then proposed, connecting the inscription's "ransom" with that received by the Athenians during their invasion of Megara in this year.[40] The attestation of "ransom," it must be noted, is found nowhere in our *Heros Iatros* text, but in another inscription with which it shares a similar style of inter-textual punctuation. Additionally, an allusion in *SEG* 10.211.15, ἐς τὸν Ῥε[τόν], was compared with an inscription containing a similar reference, *IG* I^3 79.5-7, τὸν Ῥετὸν τὸμ παρὰ τὸ ᾰ̔-/στεος γεφυρῶ̣σαι λίθοις χρομέ-/ος Ἐλευσινόθεν, which is dated to 421 BCE. Therefore using this Ῥετόν bridge reference as a comparandum, in conjunction with the 424 BCE Nisaean ransom tithe, a "c.420 BCE" date was assigned to all Eleusis fragments sharing the idiosyncratic punctuation; then, based on stylistic and semantic similarities to the Eleusis fragments, *IG* I^3 393 from the Athenian Agora was also assigned a date of "c.420." Perhaps comfortingly, both Clinton and Papazarkadas suggest a similar date for the inscription on the basis of restoring "Philyllos" in line 4; known to be the chairman of the Treasurers of the Other Gods in 419/8 BCE, Philyllos fits the textual lacuna and also works with Raubitschek's dating of the inscription on the grounds of comparative grammar and syntax.[41] And so a date c.420/19 BCE works for the second *Heros Iatros* inscription, accepting the *communis opinio* that the contract related to building activities and a shrine of the Physician Hero at Eleusis rather than

[39] See *SEG* 10.211, *SEG* 3.35, 37 (Wade-Gery 1932/3, p.135); all connecting fragments as per *SEG* 10.211.
[40] Thuc. 4.69.3. Raubitschek 1943, p.36.
[41] Papazarkadas 2011, p.32 fn. 76, where Philyllos was the chairman of the Treasurers of the Other Gods in 419/8 BCE. *I.Eleusis* 37 (Clinton) proposed a similar restoration, which also anchors the inscription in the year 419/18 BCE.

Athens. This date is also contemporary with the establishment of several other healing cults in Attica, and could allow the cult of the *Heros Iatros* to be seen in league with these others.

So as to not be too nihilistic, what can be said about the shrine of the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis? It seems clear that there *was* one, first of all. A much later literary reference notes that the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis took the otherwise unknown name of Oresinios, and perhaps this can allay some uncertainties; it suggests at the very least that a healing cult of the Physician Hero did likely exist at Eleusis.[42] That the cult was there before the end of the fifth century also seems highly likely, based on the use of the Attic rather than Ionic alphabet in the first inscription, *IG* I^3 395, and the restoration of "Philyllos" in *IG* I^3 393, along with certain archaizing forms such as the dual seen in λίθοιν δυοῖν όκτοπόδοι[ν] (accepting, of course, that this was a copy of a contract relating to building at Eleusis, rather than Athens). It seems, however, that we need allow for a greater (and lower) range in assigning a date to the cult's establishment; extending the chronological intervals when dating these two inscriptions, and assessing chronology on a broader number of factors would allow a more responsible assessment of the foundation of the cult of the Heros Iatros at Eleusis, sometime between 431 BCE-419/8 BCE.

In sum, it cannot be denied that the two "Eleusinian" inscriptions mentioning the *Heros Iatros* are vague, and afford no information about the location or type of structure in which the healing hero was worshipped. I believe that the first inscription, *IG* I^3 395, can be downdated to the period of *IG* I^3 393 (c.420/19 BCE)— and indeed both inscriptions are thematically similar; it then seems possible to view the cult of the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis alongside those of the other new healing cults in the later fifth century. The much later testimony of "Oresinios" in *Anecd. Gr*. does nothing to clarify matters, but does support the idea that the Physician Hero did at least have a shrine at Eleusis; without this later

[42] *Anecd. Gr*. 263.11 (Bekk.).

reference, however, I would not be so sure. The architecture of the shrine (was it shared?), or the sorts of services (if any) that the cult afforded worshippers are also unclear. In the absence of additional evidence, perhaps we should imagine a small *temenos* without a temple or facilities for incubation, at which Athenians could stop while visiting Eleusis, and pray for their health or that of family members. The *Heros Iatros* was thus one of the earliest heroes to specialize in health concerns in Attica, though not necessarily *the* earliest; aside from these inscriptions, unfortunately, nothing else is known about the nature or whereabouts of his cult at Eleusis.

This early cult is especially tantalizing not only because of its near certain fifth century date, but also on account of its location; that the *Heros Iatros* emerges in inscriptions concerning Eleusis could be a link between the Eleusinian clans and the spread of Attic healing cults, though nothing can be said with certainty. One wonders, too, whether there was any connection with the cult of the *Heros Iatros* and that of Asklepios at Eleusis (see section 2.5 below), as both shrines existed within the same deme and would have served the same community. Regardless, it seems safe to say that a shrine of the Physician Hero could have existed at Eleusis by the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, and thus falls within the chronological window examined in this study. Whether his cult existed at Eleusis prior to the arrival of several other healing cults around 420 BCE, and thus reveals the situation in Attica before the wholesale establishment of healers like Asklepios, is impossible to say on the basis of current evidence. It is perhaps more likely that his cult, which left no archaeological footprint at Eleusis, was established during the same years as those of Asklepios and Amphiaraos; it would thus represent another instance of the same trend, namely the rapid establishment of healing cults across Attica during the Peloponnesian War years.

2.2 Early Attic Healing Cults: The *Heros Iatros* at Athens

Mirroring the extra-urban (Eleusis) and urban (*astu*) sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore were the two Classical shrines of the *Heros Iatros*. In contrast to the Eleusis cult, information regarding a second sanctuary of the Physician Hero in central Athens is preserved through a variety of literary, epigraphic, and material sources. The majority of these concern the cult in later centuries, primarily the fourth and third centuries BCE; however it seems possible, on the basis of two speeches of Demosthenes, that the cult stretched back into the fifth century and thus chronologically falls within the purview of our study. Evidence for the sanctuary is thus synthesized and assessed.

The earliest extant source for the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens is a literary one. The *astu* sanctuary of the Physician Hero is mentioned by Demosthenes in his *On the False Embassy* oration: "the father [of Aeschines], a teacher of letters, lived in this city as he could near the shrine of the Heros Iatros, as I hear from elderly informants."[43] Aeschines himself was born c.389 BCE, and his father would thus have lived during the last quarter of the fifth century.[44] In his smear campaign against Aeschines, which attacks Aeschines' family and upbringing, Demosthenes references the shrine of the Physician-Hero as a well known landmark, as familiar to the current jurors as it was to his elderly sources (τῶν πρεσβυτέρων). The sanctuary of the *Heros Iatros* was thus a prominent one, which should have overlapped historically with the life of Aeschines' father, assuming that Demosthenes indeed had his facts straight in court.[45] The cult could thus have been established by the late fifth century, and was certainly a known landmark by Demosthenes' own time, with a foundation stretching into earlier decades.

[43] Dem. 19.249.
[44] Roisman, Worthington & Waterfield 2015, pp. 175-188; 324. Worman 2008, pp.213-274.
[45] Wolff 2007, pp.91-115; Worman 2008, pp.213-274.

In a second speech, Demosthenes seems to mention another healing shrine—though possibly also of the *Heros Iatros*— in his *On the Crown* oration.[46] In cutting invective that can only qualify as an early strand of "your momma" jab, Demosthenes mentions the licentious daytime activities of Aeschines' mother, "near the shrine of the bone-setter hero."[47] In a passage referencing specific geographic locales in central Athens, such as the Theseion, Demosthenes' mention of ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς **τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳ** indicates a specific site, a known shrine to a hero who specialized in the use of κάλαμοι, or splints. The mention of τῷ καλαμίτῃ thus seems to be another reference a healing hero, likely the same *Heros Iatros*; this passage could suggest that the hero had some further degree of specialization in the treatment of broken bones (if καλαμὶτης here means one who uses splints).[48] Demosthenes does not here provide as obvious a reference to the *Heros Iatros* as in his former speech, and my interpretation is by no means the only way of understanding the passage; the reference to τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳ is murky at best. One wonders if Demosthenes conflated these two topographic cult references while pressing the ignominious activities of Aeschines' parents; otherwise, it is a happy coincidence that Aeschines' father lived near the shrine of the *Heros Iatros* as per Dem. 19.249, and also that Aeschines' mother found employment near the shrine of a healing hero, known to specialize in the treatment of broken bones and splints. It is possible, in other words, that these healing heroes were one in the same, and the single healing shrine a well-known landmark in central Athens with which the jury would have been familiar. These references from Demosthenes—or at least

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[46] Dem. 18.129.

[47] Dem. 18.129 (Loeb Classical Library 155, trans. C.A.Vince):
οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ· πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρσου Τρόμ ης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχωνκαὶ ξύλον; ἢ ὡς ἡ μή τηρ τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳχρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριτα γωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε;
"I am at no loss for information about you or your family, but I am at a loss where to begin. Shall I relate how your father Tromes was a slave in the house of Elpias, who kep an elementary school near the Temple of Theseus, and how he wore shackles on his legs and a timber collar round his neck? Or how your mother practiced daylight nuptials in an outhouse next door to Heros the bone-setter, and so brought you up to act in tableaux vivants and to excel in minor parts on the stage?"

[48] Translation from C.A.Vince (Loeb Classical Library 155).

the definite one to the Heros Iatros in *On the False Embassy*— provide the earliest date for the *Heros Iatros'* cult in central Athens, and again require us to work backwards in time into the late fifth or early fourth century, the time at which Aeschines' parents were living and working in central Athens. There is, of course, also the reference to the Physician Hero in the fifth century inscription found in the Athenian Agora, *IG* I^3 393, but most scholars understand this to reference the hero's shrine at Eleusis (see 2.1 above).

Today the sanctuary of the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens has no visible architecture but seems to have been located in central Athens just northeast of the Classical Agora. Travlos identifies the *astu* precinct of the *Heros Iatros* with foundations uncovered in 1937 in the vicinity of Athinas Odos, at the intersection of Vissis and Boreas (Fig. 18);[49] this is plausible as this is the same region in which two inventory inscriptions from the shrine of the Physician Hero were found (described below). The excavations uncovered a square or rectangular precinct wall, of which only the southwest corner was unearthed; it is possible that this structure was part of the precinct of the *Heros Iatros*.[50] The investigations, however, were unfortunately not expanded upon or continued. In addition to the proximity of these foundations to the cultic inventories, Mommsen notes that near this site were also found inscriptions from the 15th c. CE to Hagia Mavra, a saint responsible for the treatment of ulcers; he sees this healing saint as signaling the memory of an earlier healing cult on the same site, which was officially stamped out by Christianity but emerged in the character of another divinity, who offered benefits similar to those of the *Heros Iatros*.[51]

This location in central Athens is also supported in a general way by the findspots of two lengthy inscriptions recording the Physician Hero's sacred property, which illuminate the otherwise dim picture of the cult and the activities of its Athenian worshippers. While

[49] Travlos 1971, p. 573; see too Eustratiades *Ἐφημ.* 1874, p.490, for initial announcement.
[50] Travlos 1971, p.573.
[51] Mommsen 1868, p. 140 n.169.

none of the wealthy dedications exist today, their memory is preserved in the form of temple inventories, which also reveal the popularity of the shrine among its Athenian worshippers; they color the now invisible precinct with an array of diverse and rich votive offerings, revealing a wealthy and important shrine in the heart of central Athens. The two lengthy inscriptions were found on or near modern Athenas Street, very close to the architectural foundations discussed above. The inventories, *IG* II^2 839 and 840, date to the third and second centuries BCE, respectively. The earlier of the two decrees (from 221/0 BCE, securely dated by the Archon "Thrasyphon") details the protocol required for "recycling" the older votives lodged within the sanctuary, many of which were silver and gold. These older votives were to be melted down and recast as a more impressive *anathema*, a refashioned silver *oinochoe* weighing 183.5 drachmas, which was likely used in some sort of cultic ritual. As this procedure could be interpreted as tampering with the personal property of the *Heros Iatros* himself, an official decree was drafted and displayed within the sanctuary. Counterintuitively, the *Heros Iatros* is referred to throughout the inventory as "theos." Although they date much later than the fifth century, these inventories are important sources in understanding the nature of the cult (which likely did exist in the late fifth century, as per Demosthenes' orations), and how ritual served to mediate between the healing hero and his Athenian worshippers.

I provide in Appendix 1.1 the Greek text and an English translation of the earlier of the two inventories, *IG* I^2 839, and here attempt to tease from its narrative some clues as to how the healing cult functioned in the third century BCE (and prior centuries, too, as it is possible). *IG* I^2 839 was found in 1873 in four fragments, purportedly on Hadrian Street by a private Athenian who kept the *stele* in his private home.[52] The large marble stone on which the inventory is inscribed was in fact dedicated by a cult devotee, Eukles, and was outfitted

[52] Dow 1985, pp. 33-47.

with a cutting for a small statue on the top; thus, the marble *stele* itself and the statue capping it were understood as a dedicatory group offered to the *Heros Iatros* by an Athenian worshipper (ll.1-3).[53]

Though inscribed upon what appears to be a private dedication ("Eukles, the son of Eunomos from the deme of Kephale, set up the stele to the Heros Iatros," ll.1-4), the narrative reveals that the cult was certainly official and state sponsored by 221 BCE. After running through the standard formulae of Assembly-approved decrees—the Archon year, the prytanny, the name of the secretary, etc.— the inscription notes that a committee was to be appointed by the *demos* to oversee the procedure of recasting numerous small metal votives (*typoi*) into a single larger vessel for pouring wine (ll.18-35). The committee was then charged with creating an inventory of the recast offerings, which included the names of the dedicants and the weights of their original dedications. This inventory was to be recorded on a marble *stele*, and then set up and displayed within the sanctuary. The committee was also charged with making a propitiatory sacrifice or giving a small banquet for the *Heros Iatros* worth 15 drachmas in connection with the recasting of the sacred property (ἀρεστήριον ἀπὸ πέντε καὶ δέκα δραχμῶν, ll.46-47), presumably with funds from the melted-down votives. Even the pay of the stone-cutter is listed among the other financial notations relating to the inventory (8 drachmas, which averages a drachma of pay for each line of incision, ll.80-88). In reading this inscription, one cannot be anything but impressed at how well-oiled the democratic machine once ran in ancient Athens! A great deal of maneuvering took place between the cult's priesthood, the Assembly, and the Council before a plan of action was drawn up—all for a procedure as esoteric as the melting down and recasting of old votives in a small Attic healing shrine.

[53] Eukles was perhaps a frequent adherent and proponent of the Heros Iatros cult, as two of his earlier silver typoi dedications appear among the inventoried dedications themselves.

The inscription reveals that many dedications were small metal (usually silver) relief plaques called τύποι, usually worth c.5 drachmas. Exactly what form these small silver plaques took is unclear, but it is likely that they carried reliefs similar to those of their more costly marble cousins, with images of anatomical body parts or perhaps of the hero himself; we will again encounter these *typoi* offerings at the south slope Asklepieion. Fig. 19 provides a good comparandum of what these numerous *typoi* would have looked like, I believe; because the thin metal plaques were often melted down and recast in antiquity, these votives from the sanctuary of Demeter in the northern Greek city of Zone are only such examples that I know of, and are unfortunately unpublished.[54] At any rate, the Physician-Hero's silver dedications (and gold, as per l. 32) accumulated over time, presumably cluttering the Athenian shrine; they became so numerous that the priest introduced a proposal to melt them down in order to make a single, larger silver instrument for use in the precinct (ll.16-20). This inscription reveals that the sanctuary's numerous votives were understood to be a permanent link between the deity and worshipper; even the recast silver *oinochoe* was to be inscribed as having been made "from the dedications to the Heros Iatros," so that, working in tandem, the *stele* and new silver vessel would preserve and recall the offerings of the shrine's individual worshippers (ll.35-7). As prescribed, a thorough list follows of the original metal offerings, their weights, and the names of their dedicants (l.54-88).

The sheer volume of dedications suggests a flourishing sanctuary that had been accumulating wealth long before the inventory was drawn up. Many offerings seem to have been anatomical votives, as various body parts such as "eyes" and "thighs" are listed. It also emerges that specific individuals consulted the Physician Hero in his *astu* sanctuary on

[54] By way of personal communication, the museum staff did tell me that these votives were found buried in a pit; this was another common fate for small votives in overcrowded sanctuaries, though one less common for reusable votives of precious metal (contrast Korinth's terracotta anatomical votives from the Asklepieion, found buried in pits).

more than one occasion; Kallistion seems to have been a frequent visitor, his name appearing at least nine times across the extant inventory. This suggests that the sanctuary of the *Heros Iatros* likely worked within small community networks, with the same individuals frequenting local shrines as various health concerns arose over time.

Relatedly, the inscription reveals that a significant number of female dedicants were utilizing the sanctuary (9 women, who make 19 dedications), and also that some offerings and visits to the shrine addressed concerns of the *oikos* (τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ζωΐλος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδίου, ll.57-8). That the cult had an ἀρχιτέκτων (l. 29), a director of works or someone in charge of sanctuary construction and the arrangement of offerings, and a priest (l. 16) who was clearly in contact with, or reported to, the Boule, suggests that the cult at this time was state-operated, rather than run by a gentilician group or similar sort of organization (see below). Though postdating the Classical period, this inscription affords insight into the workings of the cult, especially the ways in which the *Heros Iatros* operated within local Attic community networks. The popularity of his cult continued well into the next century, as shown by a second cultic inventory, *IG* I^2 840, found alongside *IG* I^2 839. This later *stele* is similar to the first, though makes provisions within the sanctuary for the recasting of not one silver vessel, but four, at a cost of 640 drachmas. These two inventories provide a glimpse of the now-invisible sanctuary of the Physician Hero as once packed with worshippers and visual testimonies of the cult's efficacy in the healing realm—a cult that had roots in the late fifth century BCE healing cult phenomenon.

Some scholars also connect a fourth century BCE inscription that leases a garden or orchard, τὸν κ̣[ῆπ]ον, with this precinct of the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens (*SEG* 24.203 from 333/2 BCE);[55] the sacred property is leased out by Charops of Phaleron and the ὀργ[ε]ῶνες τοῦ ἠρώιο, in which case the cult would have been run by a gentilician group in

[55] Papazarkadas 2011, p.192, fn.126 (with gathered bibliography).

its earliest phase (if, again, we accept the "heroon" referenced in this inscription to be that of the Physician Hero), but had been taken over by the state by the time of the third century BCE (as shown by *IG* I^2 839). The garden-lease inscription was discovered near the temple inventories and architectural foundations, c.150 m. north on modern Euripides St., and on this basis (proximity) the unspecified "hero" whose sanctuary was being leased has been associated with the *Heros Iatros*.[56] We should perhaps err on the side of caution, however, and not leap to include this inscription within our definitive corpus of material relating to the Physician Hero, though it certainly makes for an attractive possibility. If the "hero" of this inscription was indeed the *Heros Iatros*, then we could conclude that the Classical sanctuary was run by a gentilician group, and that the precinct controlled land that could be leased out for cultivation or building; this plot included a drain, furthermore, a feature common to most healing sanctuaries that required water for purification and other ritualized activities (ll.15-16).

Not far from this same area, excavations in the Athenian Agora in 1947 unearthed an anatomical votive dedicated to the *Heros Iatros*, found reused in a late Roman context (Fig. 20, Agora Inv. I 5968). The marble relief depicts a set of eyes with the inscription [H]PΩI IA[TPΩI] on the votive's upper frame, and was found in the southwestern part of the Agora, in the so-called industrial/residential area in late Roman strata (OO: 52-62, MZ-N).[57] Broken at the right side and bottom, the votive portrays an eye cut in fine relief, including the eyelid and a possible contour of the upper right cheek; found in a much later archaeological context, the relief lacks a fixed chronology but has been dated on stylistic grounds to the third or second century BCE. Carol Lawton associates a group of banqueting hero reliefs (*Totenmahlreliefs*) with this same residential/industrial area in the southwest corner of the Agora, and links them to the *Heros Iatros*, whom she argues was himself often

[56] Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1947, p. 128; *SEG* 35.239; Jones 2000, p. 81.
[57] This restoration is according to the excavation notes; I have not yet examined this votive myself.

depicted as a banqueting hero; as far as I can tell, however, none of the other votives that Lawton associates with the *Heros Iatros* contain an identifying inscription, as does the anatomical eye votive.[58]

In conclusion, it seems likely that the sanctuary of the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens, which existed as a healing cult during the lifetime of Aeschines' father, could well have been established in the same period and climate that gave rise to the Attic healing cults of Asklepios and Amphiaraos.[59] It offered the same sort of individualized attention to health concerns, and was filled with dazzling votives dedicated by grateful worshippers. The question remains, unfortunately, as to whether the *Heros Iatros* was an earlier breed of healing hero, whose cult(s) predated those of non-Attic newcomers like Asklepios and Amphiaraos, or whether this cult sprung up as part of that same healing cult phenomenon, sometime between 425-400 BCE. None of the *Heros Iatros* cults can be said with certainty to pre-date the last quarter of the fifth century however, which makes it difficult to determine whether these vague Physician Heroes were the earliest Attic healing divinities, and betray the situation on the ground, so to speak, before the late fifth century surge in healing cults.

Can an argument be made on the basis of geography? Is it significant, in other words, that the *Heros Iatros* was spread across Attica at Eleusis, central Athens, and possibly even Rhamnous?[60] Perhaps this wide distribution indicates that an earlier mechanism was indeed in place for healing in Attica, in the form of smaller shrines like those of the *Heros Iatros*, but it is undeniably troublesome that no evidence can be shown to definitively predate the last quarter of the fifth century BCE. The entire case for the *Heros Iatros* being the first specialized Attic healing hero, let us remember, is a single reference in a

[58] Lawton 2015, pp.25-36.
[59] Additional mentions of a *Heros Iatros* have been found at Marathon and Rhamnous, though nothing early enough to fall within our chronological range.
[60] The *Heros Iatros* appears at Rhamnous by the mid fourth century BCE, where inscriptions betray that he had a shrine and was worshipped under the name "Aristomachos." (*SEG* 33.200, Pouilloux 1954, p. 30). The evidence from Rhamnous postdates 400 BCE, and will be explored in Part III of the dissertation, as Amphiaraos comes to usurp the sanctuary of the *Heros Iatros* Aristomachos at Rhamnous.

fragmentary building contract from Eleusis, *IG* I^3 395, which was erroneously, I argue, dated on the basis of letter forms to c.450-445 BCE. We now shift gears to examine the cult of Asklepios, which appeared at multiple sites in Attica by the late fifth century BCE, and offers a more secure chronology with respect to foundation dates.

2.3 Early Attic Healing Cults: Asklepios on the South Slope of the Akropolis

In addition to the cult of the *Heros Iatros*, that of Asklepios was established at several sites throughout Attica by the last quarter of the fifth century BCE. The cult of Asklepios was one of the most popular in all of Classical antiquity, with an estimated 900 sanctuaries and cult sites attested across the Greco-Roman Mediterranean. I begin this section with a brief overview of Asklepios' development in mythology, from the advent of writing down to the fifth century BCE. Asklepios makes a brief appearance in Homer as a famous mortal doctor, mentioned as the father of two physicians, Machaon and Podaleirios; in the Iliad's Catalogue of Ships, these brothers led the Greek contingents from Trikka, Ithome, and Oichalia. Relatedly, it seems clear that Asklepios had an early and famous cult at Trikka, which has yet to be uncovered archaeologically but is referenced often in literary sources. The myth of Asklepios develops across the literature of the sixth century, including the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women, a Homeric Hymn, and a poem of Stesichoros. By the early fifth century, Pindar's third Pythian explains that Asklepios' parents were Koronis of Thessaly and Apollo himself; angered by Koronis' infidelity with a mortal, Apollo kills her but snatches their unborn child from the burning funerary pyre. He gives Asklepios over to Cheiron for upbringing, and the centaur raises the child to be an expert healer; so skilled is Asklepios in the art of healing that he brings back a man from the dead, an act of hubris that caused Zeus to strike Asklepios down with a thunderbolt. Variants of this tradition

developed and expanded in later centuries, by which time the sanctuaries of Asklepios had spread across the Mediterranean.

Returning now to the case of fifth century Athens, the best known cult of Asklepios was that on the south slope of the Akropolis, and for this site there exists substantial architectural, epigraphic, and material evidence. It has been thoroughly studied in recent years, most notably in books by Bronwen Wickkiser, Jurgen Riethmüller, and Melina Melfi.[61] This Asklepieion was located due west of the Theater of Dionysos on the southern slope of the Athenian Akropolis, between the *Peripatos* and the steep rock of the citadel itself (Fig. 21). The sanctuary seems to have developed gradually over the course of the late fifth century, with the aid of several individuals and groups; the development of the precinct did not, in other words, happen overnight or singlehandedly.[62] Unlike the *temene* of the *Heros Iatros*, a rich body of evidence attests the popularity of the south slope Asklepieion during the Classical period, a time in which the bustling precinct was utilized by a wide cross-section of Athenian society.[63]

2.3.1 Excavations & Archaeology

Visible today and extending roughly 80 m. in length, the sanctuary of Asklepios on the southern slope of the Athenian Akropolis was excavated from April 1876-June 1877 by the Greek Archaeological Society, under the direction of S. Koumanoudes.[64] These excavations, hasty though they were, unearthed a vast amount of material, including small finds, votive reliefs, inscriptions, and architectural fragments.[65] Investigations were again undertaken in

[61] Wickkiser 2008; Riethmüller 2005, esp. pp. 241-278; Melfi 2007.
[62] Because a wealth of evidence remains from this sanctuary, at least relative to the other early cults examined in this chapter, it is possible to use this precinct to inform our understanding of the foundations of other Attic healing cults, for which less information has survived.
[63] Aleshire 1989, 1991.
[64] Koumanoudis 1876, pp.14-35; 1877, pp.6-12; Köhler 1877, pp.171-2.
[65] Small finds: Koumanoudes *Prakt.* 1877, pp.14-35; 1878, pp.6-12. Votive reliefs: von Duhn, *MDAI(A)* 1877, pp.214-222, with pls. xiv-xvi; Girard *BCH* 1 1877, pp.158-169, *BCH* 2 1878, pp.65-94; Ziehen, *MDAI(A)* 17 1892,

the Asklepieion and contiguous terraces to the west by N. Platon from 1962-3, in an attempt to (re)clear the Akropolis' southern slope and define topographic boundaries.[66] Finally, beginning in 2001 work was done in the Asklepieion under the direction of V. Papaefthimiou;[67] this recent investigation clarified the precinct's early architectural development, especially the region around and below the altar.

Pausanias visited the sanctuary on his way up the Athenian Akropolis, and noted that the precinct was worth seeing "both for its paintings and for the statues of the god and his children."[68] Yet here we investigate the precinct as it appeared in the late fifth century BCE, peeling back the later structures of Pausanias' day such as the two-storied Doric Stoa and the smaller Korinthian Stoa.[69] Scholars generally agree that the Asklepieion occupied the eastern terrace on the Akropolis' southern slope in its earliest phases of use, and also annexed part of the central terrace for the Ionic Stoa.[70] Recent excavations by Papaefthimiou associate the so-called altar with the earliest fifth century phase of the sanctuary; in the soil below the altar were found pits, and she associates these cavities, which predate the altar on top of them, with holes for planted trees.[71] She concludes that the area may have been a grove prior to the arrival of the cult of Asklepios; the "plantings"

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pp.229-251; Bieber *MDAI(A)* 35 1910, pp.1-16; Svoronos 1908, pp. 243-285, 287-327, 333-334; Walter 1923, nos. 108, 239, 241-243; Beschi *ASAA* 31/32, 1969/70, pp.85-117; Holzmann, *LIMC* II 1984, entries no. 1, 3, 5, 54-56, 59, 60, 63-68, 70-72, 75-6, 78-83, 86-89, 92-97, 99, 102, 104, 107-110, 112-114, 167-169, 200-1, 205-210, 241, 258, 313, 337-8 334, 360, 386, 387, 394-5; van Straten 1981, pp.119-120. Inscriptions: including sanctuary inventories (Aleshire 1989, 1990), state decrees (Hubbe, 1959, pp.169-201), and the incised dedications of individuals. Architectural fragments: Allen & Caskey, *AJA* 15, 1911, pp.32-43; Martin, *BCH* 68/9, 1944/45, pp.340-374, 434-438; Martin & Metzger, *BCH* 73 1949, pp.316-350; Travlos 1971, pp.127-137; Riethmüller 2005, pp.241-278; Melfi 2007; Wickkiser 2008.

[66] Platon *Χρον.*1963, pp.18-22.

[67] Papaefthimiou 2010, pp.67-89.

[68] Paus. 1.21.4.

[69] The Doric Stoa is conventionally dated to c.300 BCE on the basis of the building specifications found in *IG* II^2 1685, the contract for its construction (Aleshire 1989, p.27; 1991, pp.13-32; Towsend 1982, pp.71-2, 86-7.) It postdates the construction of the Lykurgan phase of the Theater of Dionysos, and required the sloping rock of the Akropolis to be cut back, a κατατομή (Keramopoullos, *AEph* 1934/35, p. 90; Aleshire 1989, p.27.) The small stoa in the southwestern part of the precinct, outfitted in the Korinthia order, has been dated on the basis of epigraphy to the Roman Period, possibly even the reign of Augustus (Aleshire 1989, p.21; Walker 1979, *ABSA* 74, pp.243-244, 247.)

[70] Hurwit 1999, pp. 219-221; Melfi 2007, pp. 313-333; Lefantzis & Jensen 2009, p. 91, with additional biography.

[71] She concludes that the surviving blocks do indeed belong to the altar, and that the altar was laid down in the last quarter of the 5th c. BCE but was probably rebuilt in Augustan times; these dates are supported by the pottery. Papaefthimiou 2010, pp.67-89

mentioned in the Telemachos Monument (see below) could thus be taken as an attempt to replant the precinct after it was cleared for a new sanctuary to Asklepios.

In addition to an altar for sacrifice, the precinct by the year 400 BCE seems to have included a wooden propylon and *peribolos*, a small temple filled with votive offerings, a round spring house cut into the Akropolis bedrock, an Ionic Stoa with benches for feasting or sleeping, and an elevated pit or bothros.[72] As with so many healing cults, access to water was important— necessary for purifications, ablutions, and other ritualized activities. As a natural grotto in the Akropolis rock itself, the spring would have formed a node of ritual space within the *temenos*, and was possibly even the reason why the precinct was established there in the first place. The altar would have been another locus of ritual activity, a centralized space for sacrifice prior to incubation and also on festival days. Arguably the most enigmatic feature within the sanctuary was the *bothros*, an elevated, stone-lined pit with four columns supporting a roof, which was later incorporated into the western end of the Doric Stoa; opinions vary as to its function, though arguments have been made that it served as either a water reservoir, or a sacrificial pit related to Asklepios' status as a "hero" rather than a god proper.[73] We are left to wonder where in the sanctuary worshippers underwent incubation, at least within the first 120 years of the cult's existence, prior to construction of the Doric Stoa.[74] The easiest answer seems to have been within the Ionic Stoa, equipped as it was with benches and four compartmentalized rooms. The architectural decoration of this early stoa, furthermore, mirrors that of the Erechtheion on

[72] Propylon and peribolos: Beschi 1967/68b, pp. 512-515; Riethmüller 2005, pp. 250-255; Lefantzis and Jensen 2009, p. 108. The Telemachos Monument: *IG* II^2 4960-61 (See Appendix). Temple and votives: Aleshire 1989, especially pp.21-22, 32-3. Spring: Aleshire 1989, pp.21-22. After the construction of the Doric Stoa, this spring would have been accessed through its back wall. The foundations of the Ionic Stoa are dated to 420 BCE by Martin and Metzger 1949, pp. 317-320, in undeniably circular reasoning. More recently, the excavations of Papaefthymiou (2009, pp. 67-91) support the inclusion of the Ionic Stoa within the earliest stage of the Asklepieion. They factor into this date the building material and the style of the order. Pit/Bothros: Travlos 1971, p. 139; Riethmüller 2005, p. 255; Hurwit 1999, p.219; Riethmüller 1999, p. 129-134.

[73] That the bothros was a reservoir, see Aleshire 1989, p.26. That it functioned as a heroon, tied to Asklepios' heroic nature, see Riethmüller 1999, pp. 123-143; Robert *REG* 46 1933, pp.187-88.

[74] Aleshire 1989, pp.28-31 engages this question without answering it; her collection of bibliography is helpful, although inconclusive.

the Akropolis above, which could suggest the investment of the Athenian state in the construction of the new healing cult.[75] Furthermore, it does not seem problematic to assume the early Ionic Stoa to have served a variety of functions, with spaces meant to seat diners and feasters by day easily doubling to lodge incubants by night. Ritualized sleep and medical procedures could also have taken place within the small temple itself, though space would have been crowded; it is even possible that worshippers slept out in the open within the precinct, as indeed there was much vacant space separating the altar, temple, spring, and *peribolos* from one another. It seems clear that the sanctuary did not acquire all of these structures at once, but rather that they evolved gradually and with the help of several individuals and groups, a point argued in greater detail below.

2.3.2 Chronology & Sanctuary Development

According to the so-called Telemachos Monument (*IG* II^2 4960-1), the south slope Asklepieion was established on the 18th of Boedromion 420/19 BCE, by an individual named Telemachos (see Appendix 1.2). This remarkable inscription-*cum*-relief was carved from Pentelic marble; it consisted of an incised shaft, capped by a rectangular relief with scenes invoking sanctuary architecture, topography, and ritual activities (Fig. 22). The inscription on the shaft narrates early events in the sanctuary's development; anchored with archon dates, it reads like an official, state sponsored chronicle, and the fact that it was displayed in the sanctuary and copied in antiquity suggests that this foundation narrative was adopted and supported by sanctuary officials.[76] The chronicle anchors the cult's foundation in the year 420/19 BCE on the basis of Astyphilos' archonship (l.19). The monument itself is traditionally dated to around 400 BCE on the basis of the inscription's letter-forms, morphology, the relief's sculptural style, and a 412/11 *terminus post quem*

[75] Melfi 2007, pp.327-31.
[76] Beschi 1967/68.

(based on the last surviving archon name, Kallias, before the inscription breaks off.)[77] The chronicle states that Telemachos *first* set up the sanctuary and altar to Asklepios and Hygieia (ll.1-5), and during the Greater Mysteries brought them to the Akropolis sanctuary from the city Eleusinion (l.10-12) where Asklepios and Hygieia had previously shared cult with Demeter and Kore.[78] Although Telemachos ἱδρύσατο τὸ ἱερόν (l.1-2), Asklepios himself "comes up" to the city from Zea harbor (ἀνελθών Ζεόθεν), and chose with his own divine agency to "arrive" within the Eleusinion (κατήγετο ἐς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον). Thus the motivating force in the establishment of Asklepios' new cult was not so much a mortal agent (Telemachos) as the healing hero himself, who decided to take up residence in central Athens; Telemachos and others surely acted as facilitators, but the decision was Asklepios' own.

The chronicle reveals how the sanctuary unfolded architecturally in its earliest years. The trajectory preserved in this narrative seems helpful for understanding the development "in real time," so to speak, of healing sanctuaries with incubation facilities. It is important to note that the precinct did not come together all at once during the moment of foundation; rather, development was staggered, gradual, at times thwarted on account of bureaucratic problems, and involved the efforts of several individuals—some powerful figures, like the archon Kleokritos— over an extended period of time. As far as I am aware, no one has called attention to the sanctuary's architectural development and the agents involved in the "growing" of the cult, as can arguably be teased from the Telemachos Monument.

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[77] Beschi 1967/68, pp.428-436. To these I would add the double sigmas employed throughout for varying forms of Ἀσσκληπιος; the syllabification before a stop (k) is especially prevalent in private inscriptions prior to the turn of the fifth century (Threatte 1980, p.531.)

[78] The large number of votive reliefs unearthed in the excavations of the city Eleusinion makes it likely that Asklepios had a continued cult presence within that of Demeter and Kore; votives and inscriptions relating to Asklepios emerge in close proximity through later centuries, including a horos mentioning a "temenos" of Asklepios and Hygieia, meters away.

The precinct began with the [ἱερ]όν and βω[μόν] of Telemachos in 420/19 BCE (ll.1-2), and at some point within its first five years a wooden gateway was also constructed (ll.34, 36), marking off a monumental entrance to the *temenos*. The lacunose nature of the inscription obscures developments within the sanctuary between 420/19 and 415/14 BCE, though an otherwise unknown dispute is recorded in 419/18 that involved the Eleusinian priestly family, the Kerykes; we learn that within a year of the sanctuary's establishment, the Kerykes "disputed the land and obstructed some actions" (Ἐπὶ το|[ῦτο οἱ Κ]ήρυκες ἠμφεσβ|[ήτον τῶ] χωρίο καὶ ἔνια | [ἐπεκώλ]υσαν ποῆσαι, ll. 20-23). Though vague, it is striking to find another link between an early Attic healing cult and an Eleusinian *genos*; the Kerykes were not only associated with the cult of Demeter at Eleusis, but were also actively involved in the workings of the Athenian state as generals, envoys, and ambassadors.[79] It seems possible that the Kerykes were objecting to the initiative of Telemachos in propagating a cult that the *genos* understood themselves as holding some jurisdiction over; it was likely they who played a role in lodging Asklepios in the *astu* Eleusinion prior to the south slope Asklepieion, and granted Asklepios his own festival day within the Greater Mysteries to commemorate his arrival from Epidauros.[80]

Returning to the sanctuary's early development, five years after Telemachos' initial foundation a *peribolos* was built (if we accept "περίβολον" in the large lacuna of line 33); this seems surprisingly late as the *peribolos* was so crucial for delimiting a space as sacred. Perhaps initially the precinct was an open one marked off by *horoi*, and the *peribolos* of 415/14 BCE was a more substantial construction of wood or stone, which served to physically bracket-off a precinct north of the *Peripatos*. At any rate, the construction of this *peribolos* was soon followed by the rebuilding of the wooden gateway in the following year

[79] Wickkiser notes that one of the Kerykes priests engineered the peace between Sparta and Artaxerxes, and also the Thurty Years Peace with Sparta (2008, p.72). For the Kerykes more generally, see Clinton 1974, pp. 47-68; Garland 1984, pp.99-100.
[80] Clinton 1994.

(414/13), along with the vague τὰ λοιπὰ [τῶν ἱερῶν]. Then, seven years after the initial laying of the altar to Asklepios and Hygieia, the sanctuary "was planted," presumably with trees or other greenery, and in this year the temenos was also arranged and adorned at the expense of the archon Kleokritos ([Κλεόκρι]|τος· ἐπὶ τού[το ἐφυτεύθ]-η καὶ κατέστ[ησε κοσμή]-σας τὸ τέμεν[ος ἅπαν τέ]-λει τῶι ἑαυ[τοῦ, ll. 37-41). That attention was given to the new cult of Asklepios by an eponymous archon suggests that the nascent sanctuary was gaining in popularity and prominence. Additionally, most textual edits restore κατὰ χρησμός in lines 15-16, which would be interesting if accurate, suggesting that this prominent cult—which came to occupy such prime reality on the slope of the Akropolis—was established after an oracular consultation (intimating further involvement at the state level). The text of the Telemachos Monument thus narrates early developments in the cult's history, providing a glimpse of major players in the sanctuary's early years, such as Telemachos and an Athenian archon; it also shows the gradual growth of the sanctuary in an architectural sense. It emerges that the cult was moved from the *astu* Eleusinion into the south slope precinct by a man named Telemachos, and that the *temenos* was gradually enhanced in subsequent years; the foundation did not happen in one fell swoop.

Cavanaugh, Clinton, and Wickkiser all convincingly argue that the state *did* play a role in the importation of Asklepios to the south slope sanctuary; older scholarship considered this Asklepieion to have been a private foundation, relying upon the chronicle's explicit statement that [Τ]ηλέμαχος ἱδ[ρύσατο τὸ ἰ]|[ε]ρὸν καὶ τὸν βω[μὸν τῶι Ἀσ]|[σκλ]ηπιῶι πρῶτ[ος καὶ Ὑγι]|[είαι].[81] Yet the matter need not be so black and white with regard to a "private" vs. "State" foundation; rather, the south slope Asklepieion likely fell somewhere along what should be seen as a spectrum of civic involvement. We can easily

[81] See Cavanaugh 1996, p.47, Clinton 1994, and Wickkiser 2008, pp.71-2 for the role of the Athenian state in establishing a cult of Asklepios. That the cult was a private foundation, see: Körte 1896, 1927; Aleshire 1989; Garland 1992, p.131, "Of all the cults up till now, that of Asklepios stands alone in lacking any apparent political dimension whatsoever." Mitchell-Boyask 2008, p.106; Flower 2009, p.5; Parker 2011, p.275.

envision a scenario in which an individual Athenian (Telemachos) brought an appeal for a central *astu* Asklepieion before the Assembly; after discussion and possible oracular consultation, the motion was passed and provisions were made for the allocation of land for a precinct, state-sponsored festival, etc. We have already seen that at least one Athenian archon took a degree of interest in this cult, adorning the sanctuary on his own initiative (*IG* II^2 4960-1.37-41). The cult's prominent location on the slope of the Athenian Akropolis—an area already crowded with *temene* by the last quarter of the fifth century BCE—also suggests civic approval, if not a more active degree of state involvement.[82] The same can be said for the state-sponsored *Epidauria* festival, which was incorporated within the larger Eleusinian Mysteries—an age old and famous Athenian festival in its own right.[83] Perhaps to avoid the notion of a "demotion" of the older, traditional gods of the Athenian *polis*, the antiquity of Asklepios in his cult at Epidauros seems to have been referenced through this eponymous festival. The cult of Asklepios was thus afforded a prominent place within the topography and ritual calendar of the Athenian state by the year 419 BCE, with preparations for the precinct likely stretching back into the 420s.

Whatever Telemachos' role in the foundation of the south slope Asklepieion, and other information obscured by abrasions in the lacunose text, a great deal of additional information is encoded above the text within the monument's reliefs (Fig. 23). The iconography visually explicates a version of the cult's history, topography, and social identity. The reliefs exist in multiple bands and panels, depicting the sanctuary's interior and exterior space; it actively communicates a narrative relating to cult ritual, architecture, and construction. Luigi Beschi and others have noted how the double wooden gates (the *tympanum* of which carries snakes) are probably referenced in line 36 of the text, the

[82] Wickkiser suggests that Telemachos' role in the narrative "may be due to an ancient tradition whereby gods made their wishes known to a community through an individual, especially regarding the establishment of cults," and cites other Attic examples of similar occurrences, such as Pan's appearance to Pheidippides, and the subsequent founding of his cult on the slopes of the Akropolis (Wickkiser 2008, pp.71-2)
[83] Clinton 1994 *passim*.

ξ[υλοπύλια] extant by 415/14 B.C.; the stork (*pelargos*) represents the Pelargikon wall, thus situating the cult spatially through a topographic symbol.[84] The reliefs also depict interior space within the sanctuary— possibly the inside of the temple, stoa, or an imagined interior space that never strove for representational realism. Featured prominently on the front relief is a reclining but upright Asklepios with Hygieia seated at his side, and also a *trapeza*. This iconographic scheme seems in line with the common and often anonymous hero-with-consort theme portrayed in *Totenmahlreliefs*. In this same scene, a man of much smaller scale approaches from the left, possibly Telemachos himself. What makes this panel truly striking is the inclusion of surgical instruments mounted on the wall between Asklepios and Hygieia; like shadows, the tools associate the divinities directly with temple medicine and healing. Visible are a forceps and at least one cupping vessel (σικύη); such medical instruments were known to have also been present within the Piraeus Asklepieion, where they turn up in a temple inventory from the early fourth century (discussed in 2.4 below). Additional scenes on the relief are associated with the goings-on within the sanctuary and Asklepios' heroic identity.[85]

As is the case with many other Greek foundation narratives—from colonization accounts to patron founders of contemporary Attic shrines—an alternative tradition exists for the establishment of the *astu* Asklepieion.[86] This second body of evidence associates the cult's foundation with the Classical playwright Sophokles; the evidence is introduced briefly, only to be dismissed in favor of the narrative of the Telemachos Monument.[87] The devout playwright Sophokles is sometimes linked with the arrival of Asklepios in Athens, under the epithet "Dexion" for his purported role in "receiving" the healing deity as a guest (ξενίζειν),

[84] For the most thorough discussion of the relief's iconography, see Beschi 1967-8, pp. 386-97. See also Riethmüller 2005, I: 242-250; Wickkiser 2008, pp. 67-76.
[85] A more in depth analysis of this complex iconographic program can be found in Beschi 1967-8.
[86] Donnellan 2015; Sweeney 2015, pp.1-19.
[87] For a much more thorough analysis of the (unfounded) connection between Sophokles and Dexion, see Connolly 1998, pp.1-21.

as recorded by Plutarch during the Roman period.[88] Much later even than Plutarch is a lexicon of the 12th c. CE, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, which states that Sophokles received Asklepios into his household and set up an altar to the god; for this reason Sophokles was given the title "Dexion" and honored as a hero.[89] Both of these sources are late, however, and quite vague with respect to the historical specifics of Sophokles' "reception" of Asklepios; they likely drew upon material from the Hellenistic period that has not survived today.[90] The only sure link between the poet Sophokles and the healer Asklepios is an inscribed paean from the third century CE, which claims to have been composed by Sophokles.[91] The text is extremely fragmentary, however, and preserves nothing explicating Sophokles' role in establishing the cult of Asklepios in Athens; these later sources can thus only link Sophokles with Asklepios in a tenuous way. However, it was surely not unusual or anomalous for an individual Athenian to have worshipped whichever deities he wanted within his own home, and so perhaps Sophokles did indeed keep a small, personal shrine to Asklepios within his *oikos*— just nothing on the scale of the south slope Asklepieion.[92] Rather, the Telemachos Monument proves the surer source for the cult's early history, and fleshes out a detailed chronology of the precinct's development in its earliest years.

For all of its detail, however, the Telemachos Monument is silent as to *why* the cult was established on the Akropolis' south slope in 420/19; the monument's silence has, accordingly, invited scholarly speculation. Jon Mikalson proposed that Asklepios, as the god of medicine and healing, would have appealed to a city ravaged by plague; the presence of a

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[88] Plu. *Mor*. 14.22.
[89] *Et. Mag.,* s.v. "Δεξίων."
[90] It was during the Hellenistic period that poets' biographies became a trend in scholarly study (Lefkowitz 1981, pp. 75-87 for discussion of Sophokles' *Vita*; Wickkiser 2008, pp. 66-67). In Sophokles' *Vita,* a Hellenistic (and likely embellished) source, the poet Sophokles was said to have been a priest of Ἅλων or "Halon," an otherwise unknown hero who Wickkiser notes was taught, like Asklepios, by Cheiron (Wickkiser 2008, p.66); nowhere does the *Vita* mention Sophokles' being called Dexion. Körte emended the reading of "Ἅλων" to "Amynos," thus (falsely) linking Sophokles to the Amyneion precinct. (Wickkiser 2008, p.66; *TrGF* IV T I.II).
[91] *SEG* 28.225=*IG* II² 4510: l.1, Σοφοκλέους.
[92] Which bordered the Theater of Dionysos, in which Sophokles himself had cultivated something of a cult personality. See Connelly 1998, pp.1-21; Mitchell-Boyask 2008.

specialized healing cult would have been desirable as prayers and pleas to Athens' traditional pantheon were met with silence, and disease battered the city between 430-426/5 BCE.[93] If indeed κατὰ χρησμός is accepted in ll.15-16 of the Telemachos Monument, this could support the dire sorts of circumstances that would lead a *polis* to consult an oracle before making a change in the extant pantheon; in 291 BCE, by comparison, the Sibyline Books were consulted during a plague in Rome, and Asklepios was imported from Epidauros in response.[94] Mikalson first linked Athens' desire to annex the cult with her war-time raids in the territory of Epidauros, home to Asklepios' mother sanctuary.[95] He proposed that—despite her best efforts in the year 430 BCE—the Archidamian war ultimately prevented Athens from accessing the city; the cult could thus only be imported after the Peace of Nikias gave pause to the fighting in 421 BCE. More recently, Bronwen Wickkiser has expanded upon Mikalson's idea, emphasizing Athens' imperial ambitions as a prime factor in the cult's importation: "I propose that the importation of Asklepios be understood in relation to Athenian aspirations about its empire… [and] argue that Athens imported Asklepios from Epidauros to forge an alliance with a city critical to Athenian success against Peloponnesian aggression."[96] Both scholars consider Athens' wartime policy of raiding Epidauros of significance— an attempt to bring the cult to Athens. Yet Wickkiser breaks with Mikalson mainly with respect to the role played by the plague of 430-426 BCE. Wickkiser suggests instead that political factors were the primary agent in establishing the cult on the Athenian Akropolis: Athens accordingly launched a naval expedition against the

[93] Mikalson points out that in the Spring of 428, Euripides produced the Hippolytos, for which he won first prize. The success of the Hippolytos may "refelct a despair among the Athenians that their gods would ever heed prayers for relief: whatever we make of Hippolytus and Phaedra, the deities Artemis and Aphrodite are represented as remarkably and—to judge by other Greek literature—unusually unresponsive to human miseries and prayers" (Mikalson 1984, p.221).
[94] For the full collection of sources concerning the plague and the importation of Asklepios to Rome, see Edelstein and Edelstein 1945, T.846-854. For more on how and why Athenians would consult oracles, namely that of Apollo at Delphi, see Bowden 2005, pp.88-133.
[95] Mikalson 1984, pp.217-225.
[96] Wickkiser 2008, p.9.

city of Epidauros in 430 BCE, home to the flourishing cult of Asklepios (Thuc. 2.56). Situated on the Saronic Gulf, Epidauros was of strategic importance for Athens' relations with Argos, and general access to the Peloponnese. The cult's importation, Wickkiser argues, was linked to Athens' political agenda in controlling Epidauros, and the strategic position it commanded in the Saronic gulf.[97] However she downplays the fact that the Epidauros expedition—Athens' first wartime venture into the Peloponnese—came immediately on the heels of the outbreak of plague.

While commendable in demonstrating the embedded nature of religion and politics, the approach of Wickkiser and her adherents focus on a single sanctuary and instance of cultic importation, rather than exploring the establishment of the south slope Asklepieion alongside those of other Attic healing cults in the late fifth century. That there were two or three contemporary sanctuaries of Asklepios, in addition to those of other healers like Amphiaraos, suggests that perhaps the south-slope sanctuary was less representative of a narrow political agenda related to Epidauros, so much as the demand for healing offered by the new cult.[98] The south-slope sanctuary was only one of several outlets through which the new demand for healing and healthcare—and a more "personal" approach to religion in general—was fulfilled.

2.3.3 Worshippers & Dedications in the Asklepieion

[97] In addition to the political angle, Wickkiser also argues that increasing interest in the cult of Asklepios was a direct result of contemporary developments in medicine. She attributes this rise to a tendency among doctors expressed in certain Hippocratic writings to refuse to treat patients with either chronic or fatal conditions (Wickkiser 2008, pp.23-29).

[98] A wider historical look at Athens' involvements in the Akte peninsula— the easternmost region of the Peloponnese jutting out into the Saronic Gulf—shows that her interests in this area extended well beyond the period of Plague and even the Peloponnesian War. During the Persian invasion of 480 BCE, for example, Athens sent many citizens to Troizen (Her. 8.40). For Athenian activity in and around the Akte Peninsula during the First Peloponnesian War, see Jameson 1995, pp. 73-4. Athens also made treaties with other cities on this peninsula, such as Halieis and Troizen (Mattingly 2000, p.139). With the strength of the Athenian navy, which was based out of the Piraeus, directly across the Saronic Gulf from the Akte Peninsula, it was only natural for Athens to seek to control stretches of coast that bordered the Gulf in which her navy was housed.

From the south slope Asklepieion comes a wealth of evidence relating to the cult's foundation, architectural development, clientele, and more. It is impossible to do justice here to such a rich precinct but, thankfully, there is little need—so well explored is this sanctuary in scholarship old and new. This section will conclude with an attempt to show the workings of the cult, and accordingly cast light upon worshippers' lived experiences through festivals and sanctuary rituals such as sacrifice, the dedication of votives, and overnight incubation. Classical epigraphic sources allow such a reconstruction, especially the temple inventories made accessible by the work of Sara Aleshire.[99]

Sanctuary officials within the Asklepieion inventoried the cult's dedications—the property of the god— as an accountability process of sorts; they thus provided the Athenian Boule and presumably the Athenian public with evidence of duties fulfilled without graft or other illicit "insider" behaviors.[100] Magistrates charged with recording these dedications drew them up as financial records, to be handed over for inspection by those who followed in office; in this way, the inventories also served as official audits—it would be easily apparent if an object went missing from the temple, or was out of place. In addition to keeping a record of temple wealth, these inventories preserve the intimate experiences of healed individuals, and as such are important documents for understanding "personal" or popular religion in Classical Athens. In keeping with the democratic penchant for accountability, these inventories record over a thousand dedications made by individual worshippers, often detailing the name of the dedicant, the nature and weight of the dedication, and sometimes even the place occupied by the offering within the temple (suspended from ceiling rafters, on the hand of the cult statue, etc.).[101] Several of the temple inventories date to the late Classical period and, from the inventories dating between 350-

[99] Aleshire 1989, 1990.
[100] Aleshire 1989, pp.103-112.
[101] Aleshire 1989, p.39.

340 BCE, the vast quantity of dedications suggest that the sanctuary had been accumulating wealth for some time.[102]

The inventoried data suggest that visitors tended to dedicate three types of offerings at the south slope Asklepieion: (1) anatomical votives, which resembled the afflicted body part; forming the largest single class of dedications, these included eyes, breasts, genitalia, abdomens, a bladder, back, hearts, hips, jaws, mouths, a neck, and more.[103] These dedications reflect the personalized health issues of their dedicants, and tell individual stories of illness and healing that were rooted in ritual activity at the sanctuary; accordingly these tailored votives reveal an aspect of Asklepios' popular appeal to individual Athenians, and once served as visual narratives of the cult's efficacy in the realm of healing. (2) A second category of numerically significant dedications consisted of coins.[104] Coins were preserved and displayed in the temple alongside anatomical votives and other dedications, and the names of their dedicators were recorded in the inventories; coins were not, at least not immediately, seen as expendable income for the purchase of sanctuary needs, like firewood or new cult equipment. (3) Aleshire's third major category of offerings comprised small votive plaques or models called τύποι, which she understood as referring to small lightweight metal reliefs. As discussed above, ancient examples with similar iconography are known from the sanctuary of Demeter in northern Greece at Zone, also from the fourth century BCE (Fig. 19).[105] Such votives are still dedicated in churches today, in modern Greece and beyond. On occasion the scenes depicted on the metal reliefs are recorded in the inventories, such as men and women praying, worshippers with a body part, the

[102] Aleshire 1989, pp.113-165: Inventory I= *IG* II² 1532b (c.350-399/8 BCE); Inventory II= *IG* II² 1532a (c.343/2 BCE); Inventory III= *IG* II² 1533 (c.329/8 BCE); Inventory IV= *IG* II² 1534a (274/3 BCE).
[103] Aleshire 1989, pp.40-41; van Straten 1981, pp.110-112.
[104] Aleshire 1989, p.43, 46.
[105] Aleshire 1989 p. 43, 157.

worshipper beside the god, and small horns or cornucopias; these votives were dedicated by both men and women.[106]

In addition to these major groups of dedications, numerous other votives filled the temple. Like modern healing and pilgrimage sites such as Lourdes and Igreja Nossa do Senhor Bonfim (Figs. 14-15), cured individuals at the Athenian Asklepieion dedicated whatever they could; some opted for lavish expenditures and ostentatious displays of gratitude, while others inclined toward humbler, more personal offerings. Although the votives adorning the temple no longer exist as material entities, their presence within the sanctuary was captured in stone; what remains is a glimpse of a votive bedecked temple, with diverse offerings dappling the walls: braces that once signaled infirmary, finger rings and an inset crystal necklace, an iron strigil attached to an oil flask, a gilded wooden cicada, a humble pillow, pairs of sandals, a short grey cloak.[107]

Aleshire discerned dedicatory patterns across the inventories, which inform us as to who was using the south slope Asklepieion, and in what ways, over roughly a century from the mid fourth through the mid third centuries BCE. The inscriptions show, for example, that women were dedicating anatomical votives more frequently than men, and were the sole dedicators of anatomical breasts (to confirm the obvious); however, they also reveal that women alone dedicated every recorded votive abdomen (1), chest (1), finger (2), hip (1), jaw (2), neck (1), and set of teeth (1).[108] Men, on the other hand, were dedicating coins more frequently than women, and were responsible for dedicating every known crown, piece of cult equipment, medical tool (likely votives offered by doctors), as well as the only known anatomical head (1) and set of feet (1).[109] The data relating to anatomical body parts are likely skewed with respect to quantities and percentages, as the inventories are

[106] Aleshire 1989, p.43.
[107] Braces: IV.91; jewelery: (IV.63); strigil: (III.34); cicada: (III.20); pillow: (III.35); sandals: (III.30); cloak: (III.18). For Aleshire 1989 inventory conversions to *IG*, see Aleshire 1989, p. 112.
[108] Aleshire 1989, pp.40-46.
[109] Aleshire 1989, p.46.

fragmentary and have captured only tiny parts of the sanctuary's collected dedications. But the more general trends that emerge are significant, for example that men offered hard cash more frequently than women. A closer analysis of the coin dedications from Inventory III (341/0 BCE), furthermore, provides another clue for understanding the day-to-day workings of the sanctuary:

IG II^2 1533.2-4 = Inv. III.2-4, Aleshire 1989

(2) …Διοπείθης πρὸς πινακίωι ⁝𐅄⁝ Καλλίμαχος έ[μ] πινακίωι πρὸς τῶι τοίχ ⁝ΔΔΔΔ⁝ Μνησαρέτη ⁝Δ⁝ έλ-

(3) λείπει ⁝⊢⊢⊢⁝ ταὐτας δεῖν ἔφη ἀποδοῦναι Διοκλέα Μυρρι ⁝ ἐτέρας ἑνδεῖ ⁝⊢⁝ παρὰ Τελεσίαι· Καλλιστώ ⁝

(4) πρὸς τῶι ὑπερτοναίωι ⁝⊢⊢⁝

I mostly follow Aleshire's translation, but add some changes of my own:[110]

"Diopeithes [dedicated] 50 drachmas on a *pinax* ⁝ Kallimachos 40 drachmas on a *pinax* on the wall : Mnesarete 10 drachmas; | [this dedication] is short [of the recorded weight] by 3 drachmas; these [drachmas] he [the incoming priest?] said it is necessary for Diokles of Myrrhinous to repay. It is missing one more [drachma], 1 drachma, in the keeping of Telesias. | Kallisto 2 drachmas, on the lintel."

Here we encounter inventoried monetary dedications, a total of 102 drachmas, placed atop votive plaques (πίνακες) for display and safe keeping within the temple. Whereas Diopeithes dedicated a whopping 50 drachmas, Kallisto dedicated only two. The inventory also recorded that of the 10 drachmas dedicated by Mnesarete (III.2-3), three are missing, and the priest Diokles from the deme of Myrrhinous is responsible for repaying them. Did the Asklepieion's priests make monetary loans from the dedicated coinage stored within the temple? Telesias, known to be another priest at the Asklepieion, is recorded as having one

[110] Aleshire 1989, p.135.

of these drachmas in his own possession.[111] Some dedications were lodged in special places, such as on the hand of the cult statue or in the keeping of the priest.[112] The careful records of coinage within the sanctuary, and the apparent elasticity in the handling of the monetary dedications, suggests that the priests were permitted a degree of discretion in overseeing the dedications but, through the mechanism of the inventories, were always accountable for them. It is important to note that the inventories record few of the sanctuary's cheaper dedications, which must have been present in significant quantities, made of wood, terracotta, cloth, etc.

This inventory is also striking for what it reveals about the adornment of the temple's interior space: dedications were displayed just about everywhere— on votive plaques, on the wall in rows, even from the ceiling rafters and central ridge beam.[113] Dedicated seal stones were stored in the hand of the cult statue.[114] Coins were attached to suspended ribbons, atop moveable furniture within the temple (such as the cult table), and also atop other dedications such as the many *pinakes,* which are mentioned only tangentially in the inventories as "shelves" of sorts for costlier votives.[115] Dedications were even displayed behind the doors of the temple.[116] Some offerings, such as an unweighed "small face" with no recorded dedicator, were kept "in a shrine in the wall."[117] We should imagine, in other words, a treasure chest of a temple, chock full of votives— the temple walls covered with dedications, offerings stashed on the wooden ceiling beams, dedications framing the cult statue, which itself held dedications in hand. The effect that this sort of sacred space—crowded with personalized testaments to Asklepios' potency as a healer—

[111] That Telesias and Diokles were priests of Asklepios within the south slope sanctuary, see Aleshire 1989, pp.148-9.
[112] Aleshire 1989: IV.125-127; IV.116-125.
[113] Aleshire 1989: IV.94-111; IV.60-72.
[114] Aleshire 1989: IV.121-125.
[115] Aleshire 1989: III.4; III.2-3.
[116] Aleshire 1989: IV.111-116.
[117] πρόσωπον μικρὸν | ἐν καλιάδι πρὸς τῶι τοίχ, Aleshire 1989: III.4.

would have had upon visitors to the sanctuary was surely a significant one; prior to undergoing incubation themselves, worshippers would have been expecting the miraculous, or have been hopeful and open-minded at the very least, toward sanctuary healing.

2.3.4 Social Groups & Festivals: The Workings of the Cult

As discussed in section 1.4 above, the inventories also show that physicians were present within the sanctuary on occasion, and made dedications of medical instruments representative of their *techne*, as Asklepios was naturally their patron divinity.[118] Aleshire also noted that the south slope Asklepieion was primarily utilized by Attic residents, calling the sanctuary "primarily a local Athenian shrine [that] provides more information for other Athenian cults than for other cults of Asklepios."[119] That being said, dedications by individuals such as Σύρα intimate the presence of non-Attic or potentially non-Greek visitors, though this type of identifying criterion was not considered relevant for inclusion and, as such, is never explicitly expressed within the inventories.[120] Sixteen individuals with either foreign ethnics or "demonstrably foreign names" are documented as having used the south slope Asklepieion over the centuries, but the evidence comes from inscribed statue bases, honorary decrees, and financial documents other than the temple inventories; these sources show that individuals with ties to neighboring *poleis* such as Megara and Thebes were also utilizing the precinct, in addition to worshippers from further afield cities like Rhodes, Crete, Tarsos, and Tyre.[121]

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[118] Aleshire 1989: IV.67; V.78; IV.84; V.155; V.161; V.125; III.34; III.86; III.116; with commentary from Aleshire 1989, pp.65-6.). This coheres with a Classical marble votive relief from the south slope Asklepieion, understood to depict a group of six physicians dedicating to Asklepios and Hygieia (also in the presence of Demeter and Kore; see Aleshire 1989, pp.94-5; Girard, *BCH* 1 1877, p. 163 no.32, *BCH* 2 1878, pp.87-9; 1881, pp.43-49), as well as later epigraphic evidence, such as a decree stating that Athens' "public physicians" sacrificed twice annually to Asklepios and Hygieia on behalf of themselves and their healed patients (*IG* II^2 772.9-13).
[119] Aleshire 1989, p.66.
[120] Σύρα, see Aleshire 1989: V.101.
[121] Aleshire 1989, p.66.

It emerges, in conclusion, that the south slope Asklepieion hosted and healed all classes of Athenian society— men and women, families and individuals, archons, *tamiai*, trierarchs, physicians, and likely visiting foreigners. The intimate, personal nature of many votives suggests that Asklepios appealed to the needs and concerns of individuals, and was seen as quite efficacious in doing so (though of course there were also impersonal, "stock" dedications). This strikingly egalitarian cult was brought to central Athens in 420/19 BCE under the approving eye of the *demos*, and only gained in popularity and complexity over the years. Though it never attained the degree of Panhellenic fame enjoyed by its mother sanctuary at Epidauros, it was a prominent Attic sanctuary, built into the slopes of the Akropolis itself. The cult's arrival in Attica was commemorated with its own festival day— the Epidauria— within the Greater Mysteries, one of Athens' most important civic festivals.[122] The Epidauria featured a procession with a *kanephoros* and *arrephoros*, the sacrifice of oxen, and an all-night celebration (*pannychis)*.[123] The cult received additional state-sponsored attention at two other festivals, the Asklepieia and the Heroa.[124] These three festivals likely utilized the south slope sanctuary to some degree, though it is possible that the sanctuaries in the Piraeus and at Eleusis also hosted increased ritual activity on these sacred holidays. That Asklepios was already quite popular in late fifth century Athens is shown not only by the foundation and expansion of his sanctuary on the south slope of the Akropolis, but also by the establishment of at least two, if not three, additional sanctuaries to him at other sites in Attica.

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[122] Clinton 1994.

[123] *pannychis: SEG* XVIII 26.11–12; *IG* II² 1496 A (78-9; 109; 133, 142, 150); *kanephoros*: *IG* II² 3457; arrephoros: *SEG* XVIII 26.19; Paus. 2. 26. 1 notes "the most famous sanctuaries of Asklepios had their origin from Epidauros. In the first place, the Athenians, who say they gave a share of their mystic rites to Asklepios, call this day of the festival Epidauria, and they allege that their worship of Asklepios dates from then."

[124] The Asklepieia festival: animal sacrifice known from the fourth century BCE Lykourgan skin-sale records (*IG* II² 1496 A). This festival also included a *pannychis* (*SEG* XVIII 26.11–12), and was set on the sacred calendar six months apart from the Epidauria festival. Parker notes that this Asklepieia festical, combined with the Epidauria, were likely rhe two festivals at which public doctors made their "twice yearly" sacrifices to the god (*IG* II² 772.9–13; Parker 2007, p. 462). The Heroa: Asklepios clearly received cult attention on this day, as per *SEG* XVIII 26.12 (second century BCE). Not much is known about the festival other than that Asklepios was honored there and that the festival comprised games (Parker 2005, p.474).

2.4 Early Attic Healing Cults: Asklepios in the Piraeus

That cults relating to health held great appeal in Athens during the last quarter of the fifth century is further suggested by another healing sanctuary, the Piraeus Asklepieion. Situated in Zea harbor (Fig. 24), the Piraeus Asklepieion is often ignored in scholarly discussion in favor of its well-studied sister sanctuary, prominently located on the Akropolis' southern slope and discussed above.[125] Part of the reason for the Piraeus Asklepieion's obscurity lies in its modern invisibility; remains of sanctuary architecture have been seen by few, with no foundations visible today. The exact location of most structures within the precinct is unknown, and this important sanctuary has accordingly been poorly studied. Despite these obstacles, the Piraeus Asklepieion can be reconstructed through a synthesis of old and new excavation reports, epigraphic, literary, and material evidence; what emerges is an expansive sanctuary that played an important role in the religious community at both the local and state levels.

First, the existence of the sanctuary as revealed from the late 19th century archaeological reports. From 1878-1881, a construction project on the eastern shore of Zea Harbor uncovered numerous votive reliefs depicting worshippers alongside large snakes; based on iconographic parallels from the south slope sanctuary of Asklepios, the existence of another, Piraeus-based Asklepieion seemed likely.[126] This suspicion was confirmed by the discovery of an inscribed Ionic column base dedicated to Asklepios; a few years later, in the vicinity of Tsocha Theater, a Hellenistic dedicatory inscription of a priest of Asklepios and Hygieia surfaced (*IG* II^2 4453), along with the remains of walls and a fifth century BCE

[125] See, with bibliography: Wickkiser 2008; Melfi 2007, pp. 313-432; Riethmüller 2005 I, pp.241-273; Aleshire 1989, 1991.

[126] Odos T. Moutsopoulou, the modern road ringing Zea Harbor, was being constructed; this prompted the discovery of the snake-themed votive reliefs, some of which (e.g., Athens NM 1431, *IG* II^2 4618) were dedicated to Zeus Meilichios. Many were uninscribed. See Riethmüller 2005 II, pp. 26-7; Milchhöfer 1881, p. 59.

boundary stone, inscribed *h*όρος τô *h*ιερô.[127] As construction continued, additional finds from the Asklepieion emerged: a substantial *lex sacra*, inscribed votive reliefs to Asklepios featuring large snakes, architectural elements, and a throne with griffin's feet.[128] Finally in 1888, an over-lifesize Hellenistic statue of Asklepios was discovered, the so-called "Mounychian Asklepios," named for its recovery on the southwest slope of Mounychia Hill.[129] This statue, now a jewel of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Fig. 25), launched an official excavation of the region around Tsocha Theater under the direction of Jacob Dragatsis. In a very short period, the excavations yielded fragments of statues, statuettes, votive reliefs, and anatomical votives—all associated with Asklepios and Hygieia. Dragatsis also mentions four fragments of a "well-made geison" (suggesting that the temple to Asklepios was of the Doric order), three fragments of snakes from the sanctuary's "great altar," poros limestone blocks, ashlar blocks and roof tiles with snake representations, and a fired clay antefix decorated with serpents, which belonged to the temple's sculptural decoration.[130]

According to the excavation reports, Dragatsis also recovered the ancient *peribolos* wall, in the midst of which stood the foundations of the temple, along with "walls of various ancient buildings and two ancient cisterns" associated with the Asklepieion.[131] These

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[127] Ionic column base: inscription unlisted in *IG*, found in the south of the Catholic church (Milchhöfer 1881, p. 60). Horos: *IG* I^3 1081; Judeich 1931, p. 441 & Milchhöfer 1891, p. 107 associate the *horos* with the Asklepieion, as does Riethmüller (2005 II, p.27), but he notes that its mid fifth century date is problematic, and accordingly down-dates it to the late late fifth century BCE.

[128] *Lex sacra:* found on eastern shore of Zea Harbor, *IG* II^2 4962, described in detail below. All finds securely from the Asklepieion, with current whereabouts unclear: Riethmüller 2005 II, pp. 27-28 with earlier bibliography.

[129] Additional pieces of the statue were found soon after, such as the hand and a portion of the snake. Dragatsis 1888, p. 132: Athens NM 258. The statue has been dated to around 200 BCE by Stewart on the basis of the twisting torso, along with the technique of construction, which was executed in separate pieces (Stewart 1979, pp. 48-51).

[130] Dragatsis 1888, pp. 134-135; "Spiegelquader und Dachziegel mit Schlangendarstellung:" Riethmüller 2005 II, p.29, who also notes that their current whereabouts are unknown. Considering the striking presence of snakes in sanctuary architecture at the Piraeus Asklepieion, it is tempting to interpret the two snakes shown on the tympanum of the Telemachos Monument (from the south slope Asklepieion, discussed below) as being a faithful representation of the sanctuary's architectural adornment.

[131] Dragatsis 1888, p. 132. The *peribolos* wall and temple foundations were confirmed by the autopsy of P. Wolters, for whom Dragatsis personally pointed out these *in situ* architectural remains a few years later: Wolters 1892, p. 10.

muddled and intermittent excavations left behind no photographs of sanctuary architecture or structural foundations. Most plans of the Piraeus locate the Asklepieion on the modern corner of Odos Serangiou and Odos Kleomanso; according to this placement, the sanctuary would have been south of the major NW-SE road connecting the Hippodamian Agora to the sanctuary of Artemis Mounychia, and roughly 80 m. northeast of the ship sheds in Zea Harbor (Fig. 24).[132] The precinct was thus situated alongside or near major roads that accessed the deme agora, Zea Harbor and, climbing in elevation over the southern slope of Mounychia Hill, Mounychia Harbor to the east.

Nothing more was known about the location or layout of the Zea Asklepieion until quite recently, when rescue excavations under the direction of M. Petritaki unearthed a rectangular building and numerous votives along 2-4 Leoforos Vasileos Pavlou Street (Fig. 24).[133] Discovered c.110 m. away from the region in which the sanctuary was thought to have stood, anatomical votives and a named dedicatory inscription (*SEG* 57.196) associate this region with the worship of Asklepios. Measuring 17.0 m. in length and 3.7 m. in width, the long proportions of the rectangular building could suggest a stoa or incubation hall. Found amid a new stretch of the Piraeus fortification walls, only the foundations of the rectangular structure were preserved; in the absence of a full publication, the building's function remains speculative. Petritaki believes that this building stood within the sanctuary. Further investigations to the southeast uncovered a group of 13 bases for votive *stelai* and statues, with fragments of offerings dispersed among them; that the new dedication to Asklepios was found here hints that he was receiving worship in this area, too (*SEG* 57.196). These bases and dedications suggest that the precinct incorporated—or at the very least, bordered upon—an area of outdoor, open-air worship. This could correspond to a late first century CE inscription that mentions ψιλά, "bare" or "open areas," attached or

[132] von Eickstedt 2001, p.2 Fig.1; Hoepfner-Schwandner 1986, p. 12; Judeich 1901 (map), 1931, p. 441.
[133] Petritaki 2010, pp. 445-6.

near to the Asklepieion (*SEG* 26.121.40). Anatomical votive offerings, a fragment of a votive relief, a headless statue of a young girl holding a goose (fourth century BCE), and the inscribed dedication to Asklepios were also found there.[134] Lastly, near these offerings were discovered a drainpipe and a large rectangular *bothros*, drilled into the rock; unfortunately, the *bothros* was back-filled with modern material, making its original function elusive.

These new excavations shed further light on the invisible Asklepieion, and suggest that the precinct was expansive; in addition to the temple, "great altar," walls, and cisterns noted by Dragatsis, it also likely included an open area in which votives were displayed, a drain and *bothros*, and subsidiary buildings and altars, further discussed below. The sanctuary stretched further to the south and east than previously supposed, into a region long associated with the worship of Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Philios.[135] These new discoveries elucidate excavation reports from the late 19th c. CE, which found dedications to Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Philios in the region of the Asklepieion; the snaked-themed iconography of these three deities was so similar that they could only be distinguished with the aid of an inscription, and emerged together from the same area.[136] It seems that on the southwest slope of Mounychia Hill these divinities formed a close network of chthonic cults: within an open-air region in the southeastern part of the Asklepieion precinct, Asklepios was worshipped near to or possibly alongside Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Philios. Perhaps the nearby Serangeion also partook in this religious matrix; the hero's name, σῆραγξ, means "hollow rock" or "cave," which could suggest that the cult and its baths also had something

[134] Petritaki 2010, pp. 445-6, Figs. 3-4 (Figs.: dedication to Asklepios, statue of girl holding goose); *SEG* 57: 196.
[135] Petritaki 2010, p. 446; Garland 1987, pp. 135-7, 159; Judeich 1931, p. 442.
[136] e.g., Milchhöfer 1881, p. 59. The western Gaggera Hill at Selinous supports a similar cluster of chthonic cults. In this region of Zea, it is possible that Zeus Meilichios and the other divinities were associated with purification; the proximity of Phreatto, the offshore lawcourt in which homicide trials were held, may have created a need for handling concerns of *miasma* (Dem. 23.77-8; Arist. *Pol*. 1300 b 29; Paus. 1.28.11: "Phreattys" rather than "Phreatto"). Judeich (1931, p. 436) locates this open-air court, in which the defendant was tried at a ship on sea, on the eastern shore of Zea harbor.

of a chthonic character.[137] The concentration of cults in this area is striking, though none was more prominent than the bustling Asklepieion.

2.4.1 Proposed Chronology

Inscriptions and votives demonstrate that the Piraeus Asklepieion was a thriving healing sanctuary for many centuries, from the Classical period down through the Roman Imperial Era.[138] But when was this sanctuary founded? The chronological order in which the Piraeus and city Asklepieia were established is unclear; for example, Robert Parker states that "a second sanctuary [of Asklepios] was soon founded in the Piraeus (or possibly this came first.)"[139] I argue that the Piraeus Asklepieion was in fact the first in mainland Attica, established before those in central Athens.[140] The so-called Telemachos Monument (*IG* II^2 4960-61) fixes the foundation of the south slope Asklepieion in the year 420/19 BC through a series of archon dates (lines 19-41), as discussed above.[141] Most transcriptions of the monument's text read "Ζεόθεν" in lines 9-10, an indication that the city cult came up "from Zea," i.e., from the Piraeus Asklepieion. Due to abrasions on the surface of the stone, however, this reading is insecure, as the epsilon and omicron are the only letters actually preserved; possibly Zea is not mentioned at all.[142] Yet above the patchy text a great deal of information is encoded in the monument's reliefs (Fig. 23). As previously noted, the

[137] The Serangeion existed by the year 422, when it was mentioned in Aristophanes' lost play the *Geôrgoi* (*CAF* I, fr. 122: Kock 1880-8, p. 421); Garland 1987, p. 159; Dragatsis 1925-6, pp. 1-8.
[138] That the shrine was healthy and active at least in the third century CE is attested by *IG* II^2 2963 of 212/3 CE, an inscription by the *Paianistai* of 'Mounichian Asklepios.' For a useful but select list of inscriptions from this sanctuary, see Garland 1987, pp. 230-231. Pausanias does not mention the Zea Asklepieion when describing Piraeus.
[139] Parker 1996, p. 175.
[140] So too Aleshire 1989, p. 35; Garland 1987, p. 115; Sartori 1972/3, pp. 369-372; Burford 1969, pp.25-6, 51. Against: Riethmüller 2005 I, pp. 241-250, II: 25. I write "mainland Attica" to discount the earlier Asklepieion on nearby Aigina, which would have come under Athenian control when Aigina became a kleruchy in 431 B.C.
[141] *SEG* 25: 226 (Beschi) = *SEG* 47: 232 (Clinton) = *IG* II^2 4960-61; the texts of Beschi and Clinton are followed here. This sanctuary was located on the Akropolis' sunny south slope, and by the year 400 B.C. included an altar, *peribolos* wall, elevated *bothros*, *propylon*, temple, Ionic incubation stoa, and landscaped greenery: *IG* II^2 4960-61, with Lefantzis and Jensen 2009, pp. 91-124; Wickkiser 2008, pp. 67-76; Melfi 2007, pp. 313-331; Riethmüller 2005, I: 242-278; Beschi 2002/3 pp. 13-42; Aleshire 1989, pp. 7-36; Beschi 1967-8.
[142] See Parker 1996, p. 181 fn. 101, with bibliography.

iconography visually explicates a version of the cult's history, topography, and social identity. Relevant, I think, to the Piraeus Asklepieion is the image of a ship's prow, floating atop a bay rendered by schematic waves; immediately above the prow is a votive relief with an incubation scene, a lounging dog, and a horse protome (Fig. 23, right fragment). This vignette, formed of clustered iconographic cues, should be understood as an allusion to Asklepios' arrival and precinct in Zea, the harbor just below the sanctuary that lodged Athens' naval fleet. The visual group formed by the ship's prow, horse protome, hound and—most significantly—votive relief with an incubating worshipper, is used to represent a sanctuary, near the water and equipped with incubation facilities.[143] This iconographic group stands for the Piraeus Asklepieion; it would thus correspond to and support the reading of "Ζεόθεν" in lines 9-10, while depicting visually the Attic cult's origins at Zea and trajectory through Attica.[144] The reliefs on the Telemachos Monument were uniquely tailored to the south slope sanctuary's history and topography, and the grouping of the horse/dog/incubation imagery nods to the already extant Asklepieion in Zea, using a trireme to situate the cult beside the harbor and its fleet.

Located beside Athens' navy and ship sheds, the cult's appropriation from the Peloponnese was readily apparent. Athenian interest in controlling Epidauros was evident in the failed attack on the city in 430 BCE, and through Athens' continued raids into Epidauros' territories five years later, as noted above.[145] All assaults on Epidauros were carried out by the Athenian navy, which sailed from the Piraeus through the Saronic Gulf *en route* to the Peloponnese. Wickkiser links Athens' imperial interest in Epidauros to Asklepios' importation to the Akropolis sanctuary, yet it was in the Piraeus that this

[143] It thus corresponds, almost as a doublet, to the visual cues used to represent the south slope sanctuary, which had its own group of horse protomes, sanctuary dogs, and incubation scene.
[144] For the suggestion that the monument merely alludes to Asklepios' arrival at Zea, and not that any sanctuary existed there before the *astu* Asklepieia, see Riethmüller 2005 I, p.249.
[145] Thuc. 2.56.4-5; 4.45.2.

connection would have been the strongest.[146] The Piraeus Asklepieion explicitly referenced and commemorated its association with the Epidauros sanctuary through sacrifice to Epidaurian divinities such as Maleatas (*IG* II² 4962, discussed below). Thus Asklepios, a deity appropriated from the Peloponnese, received cult alongside the powerful Athenian fleet in Zea Harbor.

Additionally, a marble votive relief from the Piraeus Asklepieion itself (Fig. 4) supports an early foundation.[147] The dedication has been dated to c. 420; its highly Classical figures appear almost Parthenonian.[148] The style of this expensive, skilled relief should indicate an established and successful sanctuary by this time. The boundary stone also supports this early date (*IG* I³ 1081), accepting that it did indeed delimit the sanctuary of Asklepios as Milchhöfer, Judeich, and Riethmüller maintain.[149] Furthermore, an early fourth century BCE inscription, *IG* II² 47, inventories select temple dedications, documenting the numerous votives stored [ἐπ]ὶ τῆι τραπέζει (l.1)— metal statuettes, rings, crowns, drinking cups and other sympotic vessels (κύλιξ, κ[ώ]θων, ψυκτήριον, ll.11-12), cupping vessels, a medicine chest, and doctor's tools, such as surgical knives and pincers (e.g., μαχαίρια καὶ κ̣α̣ρ̣κ̣ίνος ἰατρικά, l.17). These dedications, many of which suggest that the sanctuary engaged in incubation and temple healing from an early date, would have taken considerable time to accumulate; it is impossible that the sanctuary had only recently come into existence. They provide a glimpse of a wealthy, prosperous cult that had great success

[146] Wickkiser 2008.

[147] This votive relief, now in Copenhagen, likely came from the Piraeus Asklepieion, as the provenance on its acquisition card states. During the excavations around the Tsochas Theater in the late 1880s, a number of votive reliefs were recovered; while some made their way to the Piraeus Museum, others surfaced on the art market or ended up in private hands. At least two votive reliefs were acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen several years after the excavations in Zea Harbor, including the Asklepios relief under discussion, and a second votive relief dedicated to Zeus Philios (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 1558). While not absolutely certain, these two reliefs likely came from the same region of chthonic cults discussed above during excavations around the Tsocha Theater, acquired together from the Piraeus by the Copenhagen Glyptothek.

[148] Lawton 2009, pp. 76-77, 84, Fig. 21.

[149] *IG* I³ 1081; Milchhöfer 1891, p. 107 & Judeich 1931, p. 441 associate the *horos* with the Asklepieion, as does Riethmüller (2005 II, p. 27), but he notes that its mid fifth century date is problematic, and accordingly down-dates it to the late fifth century BCE.

in the realm of healing by the dawn of the fourth century BCE, a view confirmed by Aristophanes' contemporary *Ploutos*, set in this same seaside sanctuary.[150] The play offers a comedic look at the incubation process within the Piraeus Asklepieion.[151] Although the extant play has a performance date of 388 BCE, an earlier iteration was performed two decades prior, in the year 408.[152] Assuming that the comedy's setting had not been altered, Aristophanes' play depicted a bustling precinct that, as early as the late fifth century, was a prominent, highly visible (dare we say primary?) Attic sanctuary of Asklepios.

As the foundation of Asklepios' Piraeus cult should predate those of the *astu*, I suggest that it arrived between 422 BCE, when the nearest accessible Asklepieion was on Aigina, and 419 BCE—the foundation year of the south-slope Asklepieion.[153] Presumably Bdelykleon in Aristophanes' *Wasps* would have incubated in the Zea Asklepieion, rather than across the Saronic Gulf at Aigina, had the nearer Piraeus sanctuary been extant at the time of the play's performance. A foundation date, then, between 422 and 419, would fall perfectly within the Peace of Nikias, allowing a window for the cult's acquisition from the mother sanctuary of Epidauros, or possibly through an intermediary sanctuary like that on

[150] While all agree that Aristophanes' *Ploutos* was set in an Attic Asklepieion, there is debate over which Asklepieion was being referenced: that on the south slope of the Akropolis, or the Asklepieion at Zea. I agree with the majority (e.g., Aleshire 1989, p. 13; Garland 1987, p. 200; Judeich 1931, p. 441; Milchhöfer 1891, CXII Nr. 55, et al.) that the *Ploutos* was set at Zea in the Piraeus, reading lines 654-6: "Having arrived as quickly as possible near the sanctuary leading our man, then the most wretched, but now blessed—fortunate!—we first led him to the sea (πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤγομεν) to bathe/purify him." The setting of the passage hinges upon reading "θάλατταν" naturally as "sea," and thus that the incubant was led to the sea for purification, where he would have bathed in seawater before entering Asklepios' *temenos*. Since the sanctuary at Zea stood on the shore of the harbor, the simplest reading should accept a setting in the Piraeus Asklepieion. Impeding this interpretation is a scholion (*Schol. in* Ar. *Plout*. 621) that associates the *Ploutos* with the *astu* sanctuary; attempts have accordingly been made to read "θάλατταν" as "spring," a stretch at best (Girard 1881, pp. 70-71; see also Riethmüller 2005 I, pp.250-1, II: 25, both with bibliography). Following Aleshire in rejecting the scholion as "representing no more than an inference on the part of a rather clumsy scholiast" (Aleshire 1989, p. 13), I would add that the plot of the *Ploutos* corresponds closely with what we know of Zea sanctuary ritual from *IG* II² 4962, the *lex sacra* discussed below.

[151] One must proceed cautiously when extracting information from Old Comedy, but it seems that the humor lay more in the scenes of flatulent incubants, for example, than the basic rituals shown to operate within the sanctuary, such as purification and incubation. Their inclusion within the comedy presupposed a familiarity, furthermore, on the part of the audience with such ritual practices.

[152] Sommerstein 2001, pp. 28-33.

[153] Ar. *Vesp.* 122-3, with scholia; *IG* II² 4960-1.

Aigina. Amid metics, foreigners, and foreign cults (such as that of nearby Bendis), the Piraeus was a fitting place for the new, non-Attic Asklepios.

2.4.2 Finances, Festivals & Incubation: The Workings of the Early Asklepieion

The Piraeus Asklepieion likely came under state control before its Akropolis counterpart; this contributed to its high degree of public popularity by the early fourth century BCE, the date assigned to *IG* II² 47, the sacred law-*cum*-temple inventory.[154] In addition to cataloguing the cult's property—a tabulation possibly ordered by the *demos* when the sanctuary came under state control—this inscription also sheds light on the workings of the cult. The lengthy inscription is brimming with official terminology, beginning in line 23 with ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι. We learn that the *demos* itself voted to approve several "preliminary sacrifices" within the Piraeus Asklepieion, a newly proposed ritual that was brought before the Assembly by Euthydemos of Eleusis, the priest of Asklepios.[155] This inscription shows that change within the ritual administration of Attic sanctuaries was directly initiated by the cult's priesthood and the Assembly. *Epistatai*, overseers or attendants within the sanctuary, would then be responsible for sacrificing the προθύματα (*IG* II² 47.28-30); these pre-sacrifices are described in detail on a second *lex sacra, IG* II² 4962, clearly related to *IG* II² 47 and discussed below.

The new sacrifices, sanctioned by and made on behalf of the Athenian *demos*, likely represent a reorganization of the sanctuary in accordance with its coming under state control around this time.[156] The inscription even specifies the income by which these new

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[154] The *astu* Asklepieion came under state control only around 360-340 B.C: Aleshire 1989, pp. 14-15.

[155] *IG* II² 47.23-26: περὶ ὧν ὁ ἰε|ρεὺς λέγει ὁ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Εὐθύδημος, ἐψηφίσθ|αι τῶι δήμωι· ὅπως ἂν τά τε προθύματα θύηται| ἃ ἐξηγῆται Εὐθύ[δ]η[μ]ος ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. As in both sanctuaries of Asklepios in the *astu*, the involvement of an Eleusinian priest in the early Piraeus cult is striking.

[156] The Asklepieion's "reorganization" may be seen in connection to the building activity and renovations going on in the Piraeus at this time: the Kononian-phase of the Long Walls was being built, and the attention being directed toward the navy would likely have meant renovating or patching-up the ship sheds. To stretch the

sacrifices were funded: the sanctuary was collecting revenue from a quarry, presumably a cult-owned property that was rented or leased out for profit.[157] The proceeds from this sacred realty funded the upkeep of the cult, in this case, the preliminary sacrifices. Other revenue from the cult-owned quarry was used to construct τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ἱερῶ, a nondescript building within the sanctuary; presumably if this money was earmarked for the construction of the temple, the decree would have specified "ναός." This was likely another structure within the precinct, separate from the temple, perhaps to be identified with Petritaki's new rectangular building. The mention of this building in the inscription suggests that the sanctuary was likely undergoing expansion at this time. Finally, *IG* II² 47 cites an unnamed festival of Asklepios based in the Piraeus, which culminated in a bull sacrifice; specifications were given for the precise order in which the meat was to be distributed, with the *prytaneis* receiving the meat from the ἠγεμόνος βοός. The order and form of participation in this festival's feast were ways of visualizing and reinforcing membership and stratification across various levels of the Attic community; in this instance, the detailed order in which sacrificial meat was allocated helped define who was a member of the Attic community at the highest levels, and who was excluded from it. The involvement in Asklepios' festival of not only the *prytaneis* but also the nine Archons suggests that the cult was indeed state officiated—and highly celebrated— by this time.[158] The festival certainly served to integrate Asklepios within the cultic landscape of Attica, and the shared experience of worshippers during the procession and feasting would have forged a

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evidence even further, perhaps the Asklepieion's revenues were coming from the blocks of Piraeus limestone being used to rebuild the Long Walls, in part from the *lithotomeion* owned by the Asklepieion itself.

[157] *IG* II² 47. 28-32: ἐψηφίσθαι τῶι δήμωι τοὺς ἐπιστάτας τοῦ Ἀσκ|ληπιείο θύεν τὰ προθύματα ἃ ἐξηγῆται [Εὐ]θύδη|μος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυρίο τὸ ἐκ τὸ λιθοτομε[ί]ο̣ [….|.]ὸ ἐξαιρομένο, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀργύριον [κα]τα[βά]λλ|[ε]ν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ἱερῶ: "It was voted by the *demos* that the Asklepieion's *Epistatai* are to sacrifice the preliminary-offerings, which Euthydemos proposed, from the money taken from the quarry, and the other money to set down a building (τὴν οἰκοδομίαν) of the sanctuary." For the leasing of sacred realty, see Papazarkadas 2011.

[158] In addition to other prominent cult officials, like the *Hieropoioi* and those heading the procession: *IG* II² 47 lines 35-38, νέμεν δὲ τὰ | [κρέ]α τῶμὲν ἠγεμόνος βοὸς τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν | [καὶ τ]οῖς ἐννέ ἄρχοσιν κα[ὶ] τ[οῖ]ς ἰ[ε]ροποιοῖς [κ]α̣ὶ | [τοῖς πο]μ̣[π]εῦσιν.

collective memory of inclusivity, with Asklepios at the center. Relatedly, the amount of attention from the state is striking, as are the financial statements about sacred revenues, and the involvement of Athens' top office-holders in the sanctuary's otherwise unattested festival; perhaps this inscription captures the moment and process by which the cult came under the control of the *demos*.

The rite of incubation also played an important role in the workings of the cult. As discussed above, incubation by the simplest definition consisted of a ritualized sleep within the confines of the sanctuary; it afforded an encounter between the worshipper and divinity, in this case Asklepios. This intimate, personalized interaction is captured on a votive reliefs from the Piraeus sanctuary, presented to Asklepios by the incubants themselves (see below). Ritualized incubation was preceded by an array of other rites that led up to and enhanced the overnight experience within the sanctuary. Hedvig von Ehrenheim argues that devotees incubating within the Piraeus Asklepieion were required to dress in white clothing on account of of purity concerns.[159] Sacred laws from other Asklepieia stipulate similar, specific rules about pre-incubation procedures: at Pergamon, for example, sexual intercourse, goat meat, and goat cheese were forbidden for three days prior to incubating.[160] Whether similar prohibitions were in place at the Piraeus sanctuary is unknown, but such potential restrictions are helpful in reconstructing the experience of the incubating worshipper. Incubants also bathed in the sea before entering the Piraeus Asklepieion, purifying themselves with salt water before entering the sacred space; bathing preceded incubation at the Asklepieia in Korinth, Gortys, and Epidauros, in addition to the

[159] Based on later comparative evidence for white clothing being worn by incubants, and the translation of ὡς νομίζεται in Ar. *Plout.* 625 as "in the customary garb" (Sommerstein 2001, p. 179), von Ehrenheim 2011 argues that worshippers incubating within the Piraeus Asklepieion wore white (pp. 75-77 with bibliography).

[160] *IvP* III 161 A, lines 11-14: ἀγνευέτω δὲ ὁ | [είσπορευ]όμενος είς τὸ ἐγκοιμητήριον ἀπό τε τῶν προειρημέ- | [νων πάν]των καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ αἰγείου κρέως καὶ τυροῦ κα[ὶ] | [. . c.7 . .]ΙΑΜΙΔΟΣ τριταῖος. Dated by Wörrle to c.100 A.D., upon a Hellenistic original (see von Ehrenheim 2011, p. 236; Lupu 2005, pp. 60-1; Habicht 1969, p. 187).

sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos.[161] Worshippers looking to incubate within the Piraeus Asklepieion also had to offer particular preliminary sacrifices and libations to specific groups of divinities, a ritual described in detail below.

Such ritual procedures, outside quotidian routine, would have conditioned and shaped the devotees' expectations leading up to incubation. Combined with the very public accounts of Asklepios' prior cures—both inscribed and visual testimonies that were displayed within the sanctuary—participants must have had high hopes upon entering the dormitory; they were preconditioned for divine healing during the overnight incubation ritual. Incubation afforded specialized attention to an individual's health and well-being, and this distinct feature of healing cults seems to have been one of the factors that propelled their popularity and expansion throughout the Greek world.

After these preliminary rites were completed and night had fallen, visitors to the Piraeus Asklepieion began the incubation process. Ritual incubation required the worshipper to sleep somewhere within the Piraeus sanctuary in order to obtain a dream or actual temple healing. Dreams received during incubation were understood to have been sent by Asklepios, and could contain provisions for regaining health, such as dietary or exercise regimes.[162] That actual healing took place during the nighttime ritual is made clear by several authors. In Aristophanes' *Ploutos*, the main character sleeps inside the temple and observes—in the dark of night while all incubants are asleep—Asklepios and his crew of personifications milling their way through slumbering groups of worshippers (including Iaso and Panakeia, Ar. *Plout*. 701-2). The three divinities and their sacred temple snakes healed the sick with the aid of a mortar, pestle, medicine chest, ground-up poultices, linens,

[161] Ar. *Plout*. 656; Xen. *Mem*. 3.13.3; von Ehrenheim 2011, pp. 33-37; Melfi 2007, pp. 498-506.
[162] Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi*, written in the second century CE, offers the best examples.

and wraps.[163] All incubants slept together within the holy space, perhaps atop the fleeces of animals that had been sacrificed earlier to Asklepios.[164]

Votive reliefs also attest the importance of incubation within the Piraeus Asklepieion. Dedicated and displayed within the sanctuary, they illustrate worshippers incubating in the presence of Asklepios, revealing the centrality of the ritual process to the workings of the cult. One such votive, a wide rectangular relief dedicated to Asklepios, once hung in the Piraeus Asklepieion where it was likely visible to worshippers (Fig. 26).[165] The incubation experience is related through a tripartite narrative: shown in small scale on the left, a family group consisting of three adults and one child approaches, their right hands reverently raised toward the deity. At the center of the scene reclines the incubant, a woman lying on her side on a bed. No more than a raised platform, the bed is lined with linen and an outspread animal skin. To the right of the incubant stand Asklepios and a female figure, Hygieia; both are shown in profile. Asklepios leans over the incubating woman and, extending both arms, tends to her right shoulder. Asklepios and the incubating worshipper form a visual unit: as the god's two hands angle down toward the incubating woman's head, the woman's left arm dips back behind the bed and grazes Asklepios' right leg. God and worshipper are shown in interaction, which was both the promise and appeal of the ritual. The reclining woman—placed at the very center of the relief—is clearly

[163] Ar. *Plout*. 711-732. Aside from Aristophanes' *Ploutos*, set in the Piraeus, other evidence suggests that worshippers received actual medical treatment during their nighttime incubation: metal doctor's tools, non-votive in character- cauterizing knives (Λ246, 331), scalpels (Λ69, 71, 280), cupping vessels (Λ349a, 381-3), forceps (Λ88, 91, 92, 332, 358), saws for cutting bone (Λ247), needles (Λ262a, 263), probes (Λ76, 77, 239, 241, 286, 287), and even vaginal dilators (Λ273)- have been found at both the Asklepieion at Epidauros (all the above "Λ" museum numbers) and the Amphiaraion at Oropos (images in Petrakos 1997). The so-called *iamata* from Epidauros, inscribed testimonies and public records of the divine cures worked by Asklepios, also suggest that a great deal of temple healing took place during overnight incubation (*IG* IV^2 1, 121-24; LiDonnici 1995).

[164] That incubants within healing sanctuaries slept on the skin of a sacrificed animal is suggested by several other contemporary votive reliefs from Athens, Rhamnous, and Oropos (see Petropoulou 1981 *passim*, along with Athens NM 1397, 2505, 2488; there is another now lost votive from the Piraeus Asklepieion depicting an incubating worshipper being healed by Asklepios: once in the Piraeus Museum with no inventory number, origins now unknown, see von Eickstedt 2001, p. 39 fig. 19). Pausanias (1.34) describes the rite of incubating on the skin of a sacrificed animal within the healing cult of Amphiaraos.

[165] Piraeus Archaeological Museum Inv. 405; c.400-350 BCE.

incubating; that she alone among the seven figures gazes outward and engages us, the viewers, activates the ritual and conveys Asklepios' potency as a divine *iatros* within the cult.[166]

2.4.3 The Mechanisms of Cult Appropriation: the Attic Asklepios

How did this Piraeus sanctuary and its new healing deity attract such attention, from both individuals and the state, in such a short time? In part, this non-Attic incubation cult was integrated into the religious community through the rite of shared sacrifice. *IG* II² 4962, another early fourth century BCE *lex sacra*, makes clear that Asklepios shared his Piraeus sanctuary with other deities, *sunnaoi theoi*.[167] This inscription must be a near contemporary of *IG* II² 47, discussed above, as it references the same preliminary offerings and priest responsible for proposing the προθύματα, Euthydemos of Eleusis. Erected in front of the sanctuary's altars, this inscription publishes the rules for pre-sacrificial ritual within the Piraeus Asklepieion (Fig. 27a-b, *IG* II² 4962):

Face A (Front)
θεοί.
κατὰ τάδε προθύεσθα-
(3) ι· Μαλεάτηι πόπανα τρ-
ία· Ἀπόλλωνι πόπανα τ-
ρία· Ἑρμῆι πόπανα τρί-
(6) α· Ἰασοῖ πόπανα τρία· Ἀ-
κεσοῖ πόπανα τρία· Πα-
νακείαι πόπανα τρία·
(9) κυσὶν πόπανα τρία· κυ-
νηγέταις πόπανα τρί.

Face B:
Ἡλίωι
ἀρεστῆρ[α]
(3) κηρίον.
Μνημο-
σύνηι
(6) ἀρεσ[τῆ]-
ρα
κηρίον.
(9) νηφάλ[ι]-
οι τρῆς
βωμοί.

Face C:
[νη]φάλιοι
τρῆς
(3) βωμοί.

Face D:
νηφάλιοι.

[166] I have argued elsewhere that this non-Attic incubation cult was integrated into the religious community through sanctuary ritual, primarily by way of shared sacrifice on communal altars (Lamont 2015).

[167] *IG* II² 4962= *LSCG* 21; Pentelic marble inscribed on four faces: on the front (Face A), left side (Face B), on the surface (Face C), and on the reverse (Face D). The dating is highly problematic. Sokolowski (*LSCG* 21), following Prott & Ziehen (*LGS* II 18), notes that the text was inscribed in several stages; the dates are thus not uniform: Side A, lines 1-10 (*stoichedon*) date to the beginning of the 4th c.; lines 11-18, were added slightly later by the priest Euthydemos. It seems odd that there would be disparate dates for these two sections as they clearly relate to one another, with Euthydemos asserting his role in proposing the regulations; I suggest that all text on Face A was inscribed contemporarily, by different hands. Sokolowski vaguely notes that the inscriptions on the stele's other three sides are "more recent." Lupu 2005, p.63 dates all four sides to the 4th c.; see also Guarducci 1967-78, IV, p.15.

vac. 0.13

Εὐθύδημος
Ἐλευσίνιος
ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιῶ
τὰς στήλας ἀνέθηκ[ε]
τὰς πρὸς τοῖς βωμοῖς
ἐν αἷς τὰ πόπανα πρῶτος
ἐξηικάσατο, ἃ χρὴ πρ[ο]-
θύεσθ[αι — —]

The front face of this four-sided inscription states that "the preliminary sacrifices shall be made as follows" (Side A, lines 2-3; Fig. 27a).[168] Visitors were then instructed to make bloodless preliminary offerings to a specified collectivity of deities, all of whom required ritual "pre-sacrifices" (προθύματα) within Asklepios' own *temenos*. Three *popana*, small sweet cakes, were to be offered to divinities closely associated with Asklepios in his role as a healer: Maleatas, Apollo, Hermes, Iaso, Akeso, Panakeia, the Dogs, and the Hunters (lines 3-10).[169] The lower part of the main inscription—incised in a different and (perhaps) slightly later hand—states that Euthydemos of Eleusis, the priest of Asklepios, set up these *stelai* on which the rules for pre-sacrifice were copied.[170] Euthydemos' name is incised in very large letters, cut on a scale bigger than that used for the divine invocation and

[168] Unclear is whether this 'pre-' sacrifice preceded incubation or a more substantial animal sacrifice to the sanctuary's main deity, Asklepios: see von Ehrenheim 2011, p. 51; Lupu 2005, pp. 63-4. It is known from *IG* II^2 47, the other *lex sacra,* in addition to votive reliefs from the sanctuary (Piraeus AM 1407) that Asklepios did in fact receive animal sacrifices, and on at least one occasion, bull sacrifice. In either case, it can be said with certainty that these bloodless sacrifices preceded incubation; the question is whether or how often there was an additional step of animal sacrifice in between.

[169] For types of sacrificial cakes and *prothumata*: Kearns 1994, esp. pp. 67-69; Mikalson 1972, pp. 580-1.

[170] For a prosopographical analysis of Euthydemos, see Aleshire 1991, pp. 244-246; Threpsiades 1939, pp.177-180. "Copied" for ἐξηικάσατο: Kearns, following Sokolowski (*LSCG* 21), translates ἐξηικάσατο quite literally (and incorrectly, in my opinion), as referring to actual *images* of the *popana*. She writes that Euthydemos "caused diagrams of the appropriate type of cake to be engraved," assuming then that the part of the *stele* containing this "illustration" was broken off (Kearns 1994, p. 68; Lupu 2005, pp. 63-4 assumes a similar understanding). While the empty space separating the two texts on Face A would certainly allow for a painted image (Fig. 6a), ἐξηικάσατο is better understood here as 'copied or 'represented;' we know that Euthydemos did indeed go before the Assembly with his proposal concerning *prothumata*, and that it was approved by vote (*IG* II^2 47 lines 23-30). The phrase could thus refer to the act of representing or copying the required preliminary sacrifices (τὰ πόπανα) onto the *stelai* that Euthydemos erected before the altars. Rather than incising pictures of cakes, in other words, Euthydemos caused the rules for preliminary *popana* sacrifices to be represented on, or copied onto, *stelai* such as this one (Fig. 27a-b). It is worth noting the rarity of the verb in question, ἐξηικάσατο; this inscription seems to be the only appearance of the verb in this form.

sacrificial regulations.[171] Taken together with Euthydemos' appearance on *IG* II² 47, we may infer that he was a prominent (if somewhat egotistic) figure in the running of the cult.[172] The accusative plural τὰς στήλας alerts us to the existence of other *stelai* like this one, which were erected in front of the sanctuary's three altars on which the *prothumata* were to be sacrificed (Side A: line 15 πρὸς τοῖς βωμοῖς; Side B: lines 10-11 τρῆς βωμοί; Side C: lines 2-3 τρῆς βωμοί). Hence multiple altars to multiple gods existed within this single *temenos*. Side B specifies that additional pre-sacrifices came to be required within the Asklepieion, not just *popana* but another sort of cake, an *arester*, along with a honeycomb (*kerion*). On Sides B, C, and D, the *lex* also prescribes that *nephalioi*, 'sober' wine-free libations of milk and honey, were to be made "on the three altars." The *stele* thus captures a formative stage in the cult's development, with respect to both ritual and official sanctuary protocol.

2.4.4 Conclusion

I conclude this section with comparanda and some general observations. The phenomenon of shared sanctuaries and, in particular, shared altars was not unique to the cult of Asklepios in the Piraeus. Such arrangements existed in contemporary Attic healing cults,

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[171] Mikalson (1989, p.97) sharply notes the perplexing presence of Helios in *IG* II² 47, on Face B l.1; Helios is not elsewhere attested in Athens until centuries later, and accordingly seems out of place here. Mikalson notes that Walbank examined the stone and said Face B looked significantly later, probably "second century BCE." While open to this possibility, I am less keen to downdate Face B to the second century BCE for a few reasons. As Mikalson notes (1989, p.97), following Walbank's suggestion, the letters of Face B are cruder than those on Face A. But the crudeness of the lettering does not seem an entirely reliable criterion for determining chronology, especially as the letters—though far from neat—lack the lunate sigmas and serifs common to the second century BCE, as are indeed seen on such later inscriptions from the sanctuary. Dragatsis, like Mikalson, seemed troubled by the HELIOS letter forms, and suggested in his editio princeps (1885) that the roughness of the lettering resulted from Face B having been carved slightly later than Face A, when the stele was already set up and in the ground—this made for an ergonomically awkward and sloppy incision, but did not require a drastic down-dating of one face of the inscription. It also struck me that the easiest way to understand Helios and his tasty cakes and honeycombs was in regard to the shared ritual theme of cake offerings; all faces seem concerned primarily with these cake offerings, and that this common thread could link the ritual prescriptions to a close moment in time. If 200 years had intervened between the two Faces, would the priesthood still be so concerned to ritually require these sweet cakes from worshippers? Maybe, and those looking to downdate Face B could certainly invoke religious conservatism here as it related to sacrificial ritual.

[172] Here an Eleusinian clansman, likely a member of the Kerykes or Eumolpidai, is involved in the early workings of another early Attic Asklepios cult (cf., the role of the *astu* Eleusinion, and presumably the Kerykes, in lodging Asklepios before he was situated in the south slope sanctuary; also the reference to Kerykes in line 21 of *IG* II² 4960-1, the Telemachos Monument). See Lawton 2015; Clinton 1994, pp. 17-34.

such as the cult of Asklepios on the south slope of the Akropolis, and also that of Amphiaraos at Oropos. As discussed above, Asklepios was first lodged in central Athens in the city Eleusinion alongside Demeter and Kore (*IG* II^2 4960-61.10-12). These established, age-old deities not only lent the new non-Attic Asklepios a temporary *temenos*, but also an eponymous day within one of Attica's oldest festivals, the Greater Eleusinia. With such celebrated integration, Asklepios gained legitimacy in the Attic pantheon. Again, the involvement of Eleusinian priests in early Attic Asklepieia is striking: Asklepios was lodged in the city Eleusinion (presumably run by a member of an Eleusinian *genos*), the Kerykes feature problematically in the Telemachos Monument (*IG* II^2 4960-61.21-23), and Euthydemos of Eleusis, the priest of Asklepios, appears throughout the earliest *leges sacrae* from the Piraeus Asklepieion. It seems that Eleusinian *gene*, the Eumolpidai and/or Kerykes, played a pivotal role in establishing the cult of Asklepios in Attica, and perhaps even healing cults more broadly as suggested by referenced to the *Heros Iatros* in fifth century Eleusinian building contracts. Asklepios was worshipped alongside Demeter and Kore even after he received his own lodgings in the South Slope sanctuary, as evidenced by votive reliefs and a festival day within the Mysteries.[173]

Another contemporary instance of shared sanctuaries and cult absorption can be seen at Oropos; there the non-Attic Amphiaraos was eased into the religious community (again) through a collectivity of divinities, who shared his altar and received sacrifices and dedications. While Amphiaraos was the main attraction at Oropos, archaeological and literary evidence show that other deities, many associated with health, were also brought into the sanctuary. As in the Piraeus Asklepieion, the altar of Amphiaraos at Oropos was shared: we encounter Apollo the Healer, Panakeia, Iaso, Hygieia, and Athena the Healer—deities associated with healing—in addition to those with long standing Attic cults, such as

[173] See, for example, Athens NAM 1332.

Pan, the Nymphs, and Herakles. The similarities in the working of the cult to the Piraeus Asklepieion are striking, and again illustrate the means by which non-Attic deities could be absorbed into the Attic pantheon.

Associations of deities, many specifically connected with health, were being worshipped alongside new healing gods in the late fifth century BCE. These groups of divinities served to reinforce the identity of new Attic healing cults, and bolstered their appeal. Through shared altars and *temene*, non-Attic healing deities like Asklepios were comfortably eased into the local pantheon through sanctuary rites and ritual. The Piraeus Asklepieion, an important but understudied Classical sanctuary, provides an exemplary lens through which to examine this process of cultic absorption; it also demonstrates how ritual was utilized to shape the "personal" experiences of individual worshippers. In an effort to approach the larger issue of religious innovation, and the ways in which new cults were integrated into the Attic community, this section has attempted to resurrect the Piraeus Asklepieion—an important but understudied Classical healing sanctuary. An analysis of the elusive and scattered material evidence, combined with both literary and epigraphic sources, shows that this sanctuary was expansive, incorporating not only a temple, a possible open-air precinct, and additional buildings, but also several altars to multiple divinities. These divinities, sanctuary-mates of Asklepios, played an important role in the early workings of the cult, which might well have been the first Asklepieion founded on the Attic mainland. It seems to have been established between 422 BCE and 419 BCE, and also likely came under state control by the early fourth century, before its sister sanctuary on the Akropolis. Through the interplay of the cult's administration and sanctuary ritual, this seaside Asklepieion offers a glimpse of practiced religion, and the ways in which it structured and shaped the behavior of its participants.

2.5 Early Attic Healing Cults: Asklepios in the City Eleusinion

It is probable that a third shrine of Asklepios was founded in central Athens during the last quarter of the fifth century, though nothing on the architectural scale of the south slope or Piraeus Asklepieia. Some scholars, particularly Carol Lawton, argue that Asklepios received continuous cult within the City Eleusinion in the Classical Agora beginning in 420 BCE, soon after his arrival on the Attic mainland (Fig. 28).[174] Archaeological, literary, and epigraphic evidence suggests that the shrine was established there by officials from the city Eleusinion itself, and that this site was a locus of cult during the Athenian *Epidauria* festival. If the city Eleusinion did feature a shrine to Asklepios and Hygieia, rather than serving solely as a "stopover point" *en route* to the south slope precinct, then this would make for a third Asklepios-cult foundation within the last quarter of the fifth century BCE. First, evidence for the worship of Asklepios within the *astu* Eleusinion will be explored; primarily I summarize the recent study of Carol Lawton—which incorporates unpublished votive reliefs from the Athenian Agora—and conclude this brief section with an assessment of it.

Lawton's 2015 study of the cult of Asklepios in the *astu* Eleusinion builds upon the earlier suspicions of E. B. Harrison, J. Riethmüller, and others; it argues that the density of Asklepios and Hygieia votive reliefs (and related inscriptions and sculpture) found in the Athenian Agora conveys the existence of a shrine sacred to Asklepios, housed within the larger precinct of Demeter and Kore.[175] The exact location of the shrine within the larger *temenos* is unknown, but conjectured to have stood within the sanctuary's forecourt. The

[174] Lawton 2015, pp.25-36.

[175] Harrison 1982, pp. 40-53. Riethmüller also (2005, v.II pp.11-12, with additional bibliography on p.12) interprets the density of votive material and inscriptions associated with Asklepios as speaking to the existence of a place of worship within or near the Eleusinion. There was also a tentative suggestion made by Clinton in Clinton 1994, p. 33, n. 67, but he supposed that the Agora findings had wandered from the nearby Amyneion. Geagan (*Agora* XVIII, pp. 296-297, 305) suspected that there was a shrine to Asklepios in or near the Eleusinion, though he assumed that many of the dedications from the Agora had wandered from the Asklepieion on the south slope. For more thorough bibliography, see Lawton 2015, p.32 fn.2.

city Eleusinion has only been partially uncovered, with the eastern side of the precinct extending beneath modern Dioskouroi Street (Fig. 28).[176] Literary and epigraphic sources suggest that the *temenos* was quite large, encompassing walls and structures yet unexcavated, such as the altar, and likely other, smaller shrines as well.[177] Lawton suggests that the shrine of Asklepios may have been located within the forecourt of the Eleusinion precinct so that the restrictions associated with the Mysteries would not impinge upon accessibility to the smaller Asklepios-shrine.[178] Parallels can be found in the forecourt shrines of Triptolemos, Artemis Propylaia, and Poseidon in the Eleusinion precinct at Eleusis.[179]

Lawton and others suggest that this Asklepios-shrine was established when the cult first came to central Athens in 420 BCE, on the basis of eight or nine Asklepios/Hygieia votive reliefs found in the vicinity, and the narrative of the Telemachos Monument (*IG* II^2 4960.2-5; Fig. 22):[180]

2 [...7... ἀ]νελθὼν Ζεόθ[ε]-
[ω μυστηρί]οις τοῖς μεγά-
[λοις κατ]ήγετο ἐς τὸ Ἐλ-
5 [ευσίνιο]ν...

The Telemachos Monument notes that Asklepios and Hygieia were brought to the city Eleusinion during the Greater Mysteries, *before* the cult's transfer to the south slope sanctuary—if it was indeed a "transfer" at all.[181] It is possible, in other words, that the *astu* Eleusinion remained for Asklepios a site of active cult worship well after the south slope precinct was founded, in the form of a small shrine or altar. It is not difficult to envision this

[176] Miles 1998, pp. 1-9
[177] Andok. 1.111-12; Thuc. 2.17.1; Agora I 5165, a second century BCE decree in honor of the priestess of the Thesmophoroi, who paid for repairs to "all the temples."
[178] Non-initiates were denied entrance to the City Eleusinion, or at the very least were forbidden entrance to the inner sanctuary (Miles 1998, p.12; Andok. 1.12; Pollux 8.123). Matters of accessibility were taken so seriously that IG II2 1672.206 records a payment made for the sanctuary's slaves to be to be initiated into the Mysteries, in order that they might gain rightful entry to the space.
[179] Lawton 2015, p.25; Paus. 1.38.6-7; Miles 1998, pp. 50-51.
[180] Lawton 2015, p.27-29.
[181] Lawton 2015, p.25; 29-31.

sort of scenario; often precincts to one divinity supported the worship of other deities as well, from rural shrines like those of the river Kephisos or the Nymphs at Vari, to larger Panhellenic sanctuaries like that of Apollo at Delphi.[182] Lawton notes that the narrative of the Telemachos Monument only states that Telemachos moved Asklepios from the Eleusinion to the south slope of the Akropolis, rather than a more significant move from Epidauros to the city Eleusinion; she reminds that the larger move of transferring the cult to the city Eleusinion would have involved the Athenian state, aristocratic Attic families in charge of the Eleusinian priesthood (the Eumolpidai and/or Kerykes), and officials from Epidauros.[183] The reception of the cult within the city Eleusinion was, in other words, carefully planned and orchestrated, and commemorated thereafter by way of an eponymous festival, the *Epidauria*, which incorporated the Eleusinian shrine as a locus of ritual.[184] Thus Asklepios' initial reception in central Athens at the Eleusinion, in addition to the annual *Epidauria* festival, would have necessitated the presence of a shrine, which was surely the locus that attracted the numerous dedications found in the vicinity.

Furthermore, the Telemachos Monument records Telemachos' assertion—in the very first sentence—that he was "the first to establish a *hieron* and set up an altar to Asklepios and Hygieia"; Lawton argues that by the time of the monument's creation, c.400 BCE, there were two shrines of Asklepios in central Athens, and that it was against this other smaller precinct in the city Eleusinion that Telemachos' involvement in founding the south slope Asklepieion was being asserted.[185] The notion that two shrines of Asklepios

[182] The precinct to the river Kephisos supported the worship of other deities as well; the altar was a shared one and Hermes, Echelos, Iasile, and numerous other divinities appear in votive reliefs from the site (Athens NM 2756; *IG* I^3 987= *IG* II^2 4548; Guarducci 1974, p.57; Boutyras 2011, pp.49-58; Gaifman 2015, pp.59-61). The cave of the Nymphs and Pan at Vari has also produced evidence for Kybele (Larson 2001, p.242). The sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi featured numerous temples and shrines to other divinities, including Asklepios (Scott 2014; Morgan 1990).
[183] A point noted first by Clinton (1994, p. 24), and restated by Wickkiser (2008, p. 71).
[184] Parke 1977, pp. 64-65; Clinton 1994, p. 29; Wickkiser 2008, pp. 74, 101-105; Lawton 2015, pp.25-36.
[185] *IG* II^2 4960-61, ll.1-4; Lawton 2015, p.25. For the date of the Telemachos Monument, see Beschi 1969a, pp. 428-436.

coexisted in central Athens is borne out, at least by the Roman period, by the two thrones for Asklepios-priests within the *proedria* of the Theatre of Dionysos: one for the priest of Asklepios and another for the priest of Asklepios Paieon, according to Lawton.[186]

The strongest argument for the existence of this shrine, in my opinion, is the quantity of concentrated material remains—all associated with Asklepios and Hygieia—found in the vicinity of the city Eleusinion. It should be warned that over time inscriptions and votives can and did wander from their original site of deposition, but a survey of findspots shows that definitely eight (and possibly nine) votive reliefs depicting Asklepios and/or Hygieia emerged from the area immediately around the Eleusinion (Fig.29).[187] One of these reliefs, furthermore, is among the earliest Attic votives dedicated to Asklepios (Fig. 30); it has been dated stylistically to c.420 BCE, which Lawton thinks signified the worship of Asklepios in the Eleusinion immediately upon his arrival in Athens.[188] This significant number of reliefs dedicated to Asklepios is "almost equal to the eight certain and four possible votive reliefs depicting the Eleusinian deities that have been found there. The pattern of the findspots of the reliefs is also similar to that of the Eleusinian reliefs."[189] This last part is quite significant, namely that the "clustering" of votives to Asklepios and Hygieia mirrors the depositional context of those to Demeter and Kore, which lends plausibility to the idea that all of these divinities were *all* receiving cult within the same space (the Eleusinion). Although none of the nine reliefs to Asklepios or Hygieia were found *in situ*, five from the vicinity of the Eleusinion were found in ancient or medieval contexts, suggesting that they had not strayed far from their original locations before reuse.[190] Lawton also

[186] Lawton 2015, p. 26. *IG* II² 5045, *IG* II² 5068; Maass 1972, p. 120, 133; Aleshire 1989, pp. 83-84. Asklepios is called Paieon in two other inscriptions of the second or third century CE, *IG* II² 3809 and 4533.
[187] Lawton 2015, p.25, 27-29.
[188] Agora S 2050: Harrison 1982, pp. 44-45, pl. 6d; Lawton 2009, pp. 77, 83, no. 10, fig. 22. Lawton 2015, pp.27-9.
[189] Lawton 2015, p.27.
[190] Lawton (2015, p.33 fn.32 for the findspots of Agora S 2050, S1179, S 2323, and S 2505.)

considers five anatomical votive reliefs and a number of banqueting hero reliefs found near the Eleusinion as dedications made to Asklepios within his small shrine in the Eleusinion.[191]

I believe that the nucleated concentration of Asklepios and Hygieia votives, along with anatomical and banqueting hero votives, is in itself compelling archaeological evidence for a small shrine of Asklepios within the city Eleusinion. But the case is further strengthened by a number of related discoveries from the surrounding area. The most significant is a *horos* from the second century BCE marking the "temenos of Asklepios and Hygieia," found in the demolition of a house on Polygnotos Street, the road immediately east of the Eleusinion;[192] that the boundary stone employs the term *temenos* rather than *hieron* is, as Lawton suggests, appropriate for a small shrine (*temenos*) within a larger precinct (*hieron*), such as that of Asklepios within the city Eleusinion.[193] From this same road came two other dedications to Asklepios and Hygieia, *IG* II² 4539 reading Καλλίας ὑπὲρ | τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὑγείᾳ, and *IG* II² 4536, Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ | Ὑγίαι. The former assumed the shape of a small altar, dedicated by Kallias to Hygieia on behalf of his son; it emerged in the church of Agia Kyra, just northeast of the Eleusinion on Polygnotos Street.[194] Though this altar could have possibly been used in a domestic context, or strayed from another locus of Asklepios-Hygieia worship, it seems safely dedicatory in nature—an offering for the health of a son. Its proximity, furthermore, to the Eleusinion and the other Asklepios-themed votives most

[191] See Lawton 2015. Lawton suggests that 14 banqueting hero reliefs from the late fifth and fourth centuries BCE would have served as dedications to Asklepios within the city Eleusinion; the fourteen dating from the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C. came from the immediate area of the Eleusinion, the north slope of the Areopagos just west of the Eleusinion, or the north slope of the Akropolis (Figs. 1, 3 in Lawton; Immediate area of the Eleusinion: Agora S 103 + 1010 (fragment S 1010 only), S 713, S 1006, S 1018, S 2628. North slope of the Areopagos west of the Eleusinion: Agora S 982, S 986, S 988, S 1101, S 1152, S 2891, S 3180, S 3334. Marble pile on the north slope of the Akropolis: Agora S 2761. S 713 and S 986 may date from the late fifth century B.C.; the others date from the fourth century.)

[192] Lawton 2015 with Choremis 1995, p. 21, pl. 14:a; *SEG* 44.79; Chaniotis and Stavrianopoulou 1997, p. 264, no. 39. A small statue of Asklepios was found nearby, in a rescue excavation at the corner of Pelopidas and Pan Streets: A. Choremis, pers. comm. in Clinton 1994, p. 33, n. 67; Choremi 21, pl. 14a; Despinis 216; Vikela 2006, 50.

[193] Clinton compares the use of the term *temenos* to describe the shrine of Neleos and Basile within the larger *hieron* of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile (*IG* I³84); Clinton 1994, p.33 n.58.

[194] Choremis 1995, p.21; *SEG* 44.79.

easily suggests that it originated from that very location. Furthermore, part of a large fourth century BCE base depicting the family of Asklepios was found built into a modern house just southwest of the Eleusinion;[195] the preserved fragments shows two figures, Hygieia and a nude male, probably one of the sons of Asklepios. Finally, Lawton also associates a group dedication to Asklepios from the Roman period with the shrine, *SEG* 21.776, as it was found in the vicinity, along with a small portable Asklepios statue from a late Roman context on the north slope of the Areopagos.[196]

While arguments stemming from the text of the Telemachos Monument seem rather subjective, as does the "c.420 BCE" stylistic dates assigned to some Asklepios votive reliefs, the large quantity of material directly associated with Asklepios and Hygieia and recovered in the area does support the presence of a shrine within the city Eleusinion. To explain away this evidence, one need argue that a substantial amount of material wandered from other *temene* of Asklepios and Hygieia, but was fortuitously relocated or redeposited in a nucleated fashion in the vicinity of the Agora's Eleusinion. Future work could expose the unexcavated majority of the Eleusinion precinct, and perhaps additional built structures east of the region currently exposed. The density of inscriptions emerging from Polygnotos Street in particular leaves reason to hope that more definitive conclusions lie below the modern city.

2.6 Early Attic Healing Cults: Asklepios at Eleusis

In addition to the precincts of Asklepios in the city Eleusinion, Piraeus, and south slope of the Akropolis, a fourth and final Asklepieion is examined here as it has also been dated in scholarship to the late fifth century BCE: the understudied sanctuary of Asklepios at

[195] Lawton 2015, p.29; Agora S 1103.
[196] Lawton 2015, p.29; Meritt 1961, p. 273, no. 113; *Agora* XVIII, p. 56, no. C117; Agora S 1068: *Agora* XXIV, p, 41, pl. 39:d. Though the statue could have easily come from the Amyneion or even a domestic context.

Eleusis.[197] Remains of this precinct are no longer visible, and rarely is this cult mentioned in scholarship. As noted above, Eleusis was the largest deme in the southwestern corner of Attica, roughly 14 miles from the center of Athens (Fig.16). Best known for its sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and the cult's festival, the Greater Mysteries, Eleusis also served as a border zone between Athens and Megara. Less prominent within the deme, but comprising an important part of the religious landscape, was a shrine of Asklepios.

No architectural remains or structural foundations from the *temenos* are currently extant, though if preserved they would be buried below the modern city. The cult of Asklepios at Eleusis is instead known from inscriptions, dedications, and sculptural finds, many of which emerged from the private "excavations" of D. Methenitos in the late 19th century CE. The first clue to the existence of an Eleusinian Asklepieion turned up in 1892, when Methenitos found an inscribed architectural block reading [Ἀ]σκληπί[ω] in his vineyard; rather than turning the block over to the museum, it was built into a cistern with the inscription no longer visible.[198] The rough location of the Asklepieion has been inferred from the findspots of inscriptions and sculpture; these situate the sanctuary on the "right bank" of the Kephisos river, 100 m. west of an ancient (Roman?) aqueduct (Fig. 31).[199] The cult was thus located on the outskirts of the deme, roughly 1-1.5 km north of the Eleusinian sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Skias wrote that on a visit to Methenitos' vineyard, in the area from which the inscriptions and sculpture emerged, he saw "some small remains of later buildings," but doubted that the area was a feasible location for the ancient sanctuary because of the flooding of the river.[200]

From the epigraphic evidence, Skias also believed the shrine to have been established by the late fifth century BCE. The date thus falls under our rubric of "early" Attic

[197] For bibliography, see: Skias *Prakt.* 1898, pp. 87-90; Kourouniotes *ArchDelt* 1924-25; Travlos 1988, p. 96; Clinton 2005, pp. 497-499, nos. 680-686, pl. 307; Clinton 2008, pp. 427-428.
[198] Kern *AE* 10 1892, p. 115.
[199] Skias, *Prakt*. 1898, p.87.
[200] Skias, *Prakt*. 1898, p.87.

healing cult foundations, and is dated by Skias, Riethmüller, and others on the basis of *IG* II^2 4366, a votive reading Ἀπατούρι-|ος Ἀσκληπι-|ôι εὐξάμενο-|ς ἀνέθηκεν. Carved from dark Eleusinian stone, likely the λίθον μελάνον discussed above in *IG* I^3 395.12-13, Skias dated this dedication on the basis of letter forms, the shape of the stone (a stele with a rectangular cavity on the top for the insertion of a dedication), and orthography (particularly of the third line, where OI is used for the dative singular, instead of ῳ); taken together these factors suggest that the inscription should date no later than the late fifth century BCE.[201] Riethmüller accepts and reproduces this date: the sanctuary, he says, was founded by the late fifth or early fourth century BCE. The editors of *IG,* however, date this inscription less precisely, noting only that it was carved "before the middle of the 4th c. BCE;" Clinton and Verbanck-Piérard reproduce this more cautious date.[202] In the absence of additional sources, the cult's foundation hinges upon this inscription as a *terminus post quem*, which is indeed a precarious way to date the cult's establishment.

Dating from the Classical period, *IG* II^2 4366 is the earliest attestation of a Classical cult of Asklepios at Eleusis, and the shrine seems to have been in existence until at least the third century CE.[203] Wherever its precise location, the sanctuary could well have been a substantial one, judging from the extant dedications and epigraphic remains. The most notable sculptural find was the torso of a life-sized statue of Asklepios, an original of the second half of the fourth century BCE.[204] Additionally, a marble statue base with remnants of the statue's feet was found, a dedication of Epikrates from the end of the fourth century BCE; it is possible that the marble statue was of Asklepios: Ἐπικράτης | Παμφίλου |

[201] Skias *Prakt.* 1898, pp.87-88. The use of OI in the dative singular, rather of ῳ, is usually associated with the pre-403 BCE standardization of the Attic alphabet, but on private dedications like this one (rather than state inscriptions, Threatte 1980), we need not expect the same sweeping change, and certainly not at the same time. If we wanted to be more responsible and extent the chronological intervals, we could say more safely that this dedication would have been inscribed anytime from the late fifth century until the first quarter of the fourth.
[202] *IG* II^2 4366; Verbanck-Piérard (2000, p.318); Clinton 2005 p. 497 no. 680.
[203] Riethmüller 2005, II pp. 22-25, with specific references to inscriptions, sculpture, anatomical votive, and further literature summarized on p.25.
[204] Eleusis Museum, Inv. 5100.

Λευκονοιεὺς | Ἀσκληπιῶι.[205] An anatomical votive relief depicting female breasts was also recovered, in addition to the torso of a second Asklepios statue of the so-called "Giustini" type.[206] Without further elaboration, Skias concludes his summary of the discoveries with mention of a marble statue of a headless male and, even more vaguely, some "bad art of the Roman period."[207]

Riethmüller, Clinton, and Vikela have compiled the epigraphic material from this cult to varying degrees;[208] the majority of inscriptions are votive in nature, and I highlight here only a small selection. In addition to *IG* II^2 4366 (the votive of the late fifth or early fourth century BCE), another dedicatory *stele* to Asklepios and Hygieia was found dating to 249/8 BCE, which suggests that the Asklepios sanctuary at Eleusis continued into the Hellenistic period.[209] That the cult sustained the attention of worshippers, if not gained momentum, is clear from a later Roman inscription that records building activity within the sanctuary during the first century CE, *IG* II^2 4479: Εὐφρόσυνος | Ἱεροφάντου ζα-|κορεύων Ἀσκλη-|πιοῦ καὶ Ὑγίας | ἀνέθηκεν τὸ π-|ρόναον καὶ τὸ-|ν οἶκον ἐπὶ Κα-|λλικπατίδου | ἄρχοντος. The inscription states that a man named Euphrosynos (l.2)— the son of the chief priest of the Eleusinian goddesses, chosen from the Eumolpidai clan (the "Hierophant")— was serving as the *zakoros*, or temple attendant, within the sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygieia during the Claudian period (ll.2-3); he funded the construction or repair of both a "pronaos" and an "oikos," presumably somewhere within the *temenos* itself (ll.4-7). He concludes this record of dedication with the Archon year (ll.7-9). This inscription reveals that by the Roman Imperial period, the cult of Asklepios at Eleusis was either expanding or undergoing significant renovation at the hands of the Eumolpidai clan; the *temenos* by this

[205] *IG* II^2 4414, Eleusis Museum Inv. No. E 964.
[206] *IG* II^2 4505: Current whereabouts unknown, see Forsén 1996, p.82 nr. 12.1, Verbanck-Piérard 2000, p.318; Kourouniotis, *ArchDelt* 91924/25, p.105; Riethmüller 2005 II, p. 23.
[207] Skias 1898, p. 90.
[208] Vikela 2006, pp. 41–62; Clinton 2008; Riethmüller 2005 II, p. 25; 2006, p.50.
[209] *SEG* 53 217; Eleusis Inv. No. E 153.

period had grown beyond just a temple and (presumed) altar, though it is unclear what structural form the newly dedicated οἶκος assumed. That the sanctuary was so developed by the late fifth century BCE is, of course, unlikely. Though a later inscription, the connection between the Eumpolid clan and the cult of Asklepios is striking, and again begs the question of whether there was a relationship between Attic healing cults and the Eleusinian priestly families.[210]

To conclude, there certainly was a precinct of Asklepios in the deme of Eleusis by the fourth century BCE at the latest, though several scholars place the cult's foundation in the late fifth century BCE on the basis of *IG* II² 4366, the earliest extant dedicatory inscription. This Eleusinian shrine can accordingly be understood as part of the same healing phenomenon that established Asklepios in precincts in the Piraeus, Akropolis, and city Eleusinion, brought Amphiaraos at Oropos, and perhaps established the *Heros Iatros* in central Athens and Eleusis. The precinct of Asklepios at Eleusis has never been located on the basis of architectural remains; its hypothetical location beside the River Kephisos is assumed from the clustering patterns of dedications and sculpture. The precinct did support anatomical votives and life-size marble sculpture, and at least by the Roman period also a *pronaos* and a building known as the *oikos*, presumably in addition to an earlier *naos* and *bomos*. One wonders about the relationship, if there was one at all, between the Eleusinian precincts of Asklepios and the *Heros Iatros*. Is it possible that Asklepios received cult within the earlier shrine of the *Heros Iatros*, as happened in central Athens when Asklepios moved into the precinct of the hero Amynos (2.7 below)? In the absence of additional data, nothing can be said with certainty, and it is just as plausible that Eleusis hosted two separate healing shrines, one to the *Heros Iatros* and one to Asklepios.

[210] Earlier circumstances could suggest as much: collectively, there was the arrival of Asklepios in Athens during the Greater Mysteries, the creation of a one-day festival for Asklepios (the *Epidauria*) within the Mysteries itself (Paus. 2.26.8; Philostr. *VA* 4.18),[210] the involvement of the Kerykes in the south slope sanctuary (as per the Telemachos Monument, *IG* II² 4960-61, ll.21-23), and the prominence of Euthydemos of Eleusis in shaping ritual in the early Piraeus cult. To these connections can now be added an early sanctuary of Asklepios at Eleusis itself.

2.7 Early Attic Healing Cults: Amynos & the Amyneion

The third Attic healing hero considered in Part II is Amynos, whose name intimates a soteriological function of "warding off" general threats or harm, a divinity who would fall within Usener's category of *Sondergötter*.[211] Like the *Heros Iatros*, Amynos was a local hero tied to a particular location, with the power to perform a broad range functions, rather than an Asklepios or Herakles type of figure with a known mythology and PanHellenic fame. As with many heroes, such as the "Heroines at the Gate" in Thorikos (*SEG* 26.136.51), Amynos was tied to a particular locality, in this case the region beside a busy crossroads in a largely residential part of central Athens (Fig. 32). Well into the Roman period, the sanctuary seems to have served the needs of, and functioned within its local residential community. It was situated directly beside a major road leading up to the Akropolis, on the corner of a city block within a densely populated neighborhood. As such, it was wedged among private houses, roads, hydraulic works, and other small, neighborhood shrines; thus the cult of Amynos, too, provides a window into how healing cults could operate within local community networks in Classical Athens.

Like the *Heros Iatros* at Eleusis, the cult of Amynos has also been deemed one of, if not *the*, earliest Attic healing cult; J. Mylonopoulos recently wrote, for example, that the healing cult of Amynos "stood out before the introduction of Asklepios' cult from Epidauros." "Excavations," he goes on to note with reference to the precinct, "indicate that his sanctuary goes back to at least the sixth, or even the seventh or late eighth century BCE."[212] As ever, the case is much more complicated, the chronology murky. Just how early Amynos was functioning as a healing hero, and the so-called Amyneion a healing cult, is not

[211] Usener 1896, *passim*. In his *Versuch einer Lehre con der religiösen Begriffsbildung*, he suggested that Sondergötter, or gods with special functions (in all religions, not just that of ancient Greece), were given metaphorical sorts of names that personified natural phenomena or life events, such as childbirth.
[212] Mylonopoulos 2013, p.1.

at all clear. Though I employ the term "Amyneion" when discussing this shrine, keeping precedent with earlier scholarship, it is not clear that Athenians of the Archaic or Classical periods referred to the sanctuary by this name, or understood it as a precinct exclusive to Amynos; indeed, it can be shown that Amynos was one of several divinities receiving cult within this *temenos*. I also propose a new way of thinking about this cult—namely that this precinct only came to specialize in health and healing during or soon after the late fifth century BCE, and that in earliest phases this shrine was not one that catered exclusively to health concerns.

2.7.1 The Amyneion: Archaeological and Visual Sources

The hero Amynos and his neighborhood shrine pass unmentioned by ancient authors; information about this cult comes entirely from material remains, and thankfully these include numerous inscribed *stelai*. It can be said with certainty that by the Classical period there existed a precinct of Amynos in central Athens, the so-called Amyneion; inscriptions, cult furnishings, and health-related dedications suggest that the shrine was functioning as a healing cult by the early fourth century BCE at the latest. By this time, Asklepios was also receiving cult within the precinct, accumulating health-related votives alongside Amynos.[213]

Because the Amyneion sits in a low saddle between the Aereopagos and the Pynx, the area silted over quickly in antiquity, and both the shrine and the houses around it were better preserved than those in surrounding regions. The Amyneion was first uncovered in 1892 on the western slope of the Akropolis during excavations by Wilhelm Dörpfeld and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI); I cannot resist including some remarkable photographs from these early excavations, especially as the current precinct is entirely overgrown (Fig. 33-34). The shrine was revisited in 1964-5 during American excavations in

[213] Körte *Ath. Mitt* 1893, p.231 ff. Abb.1; Körte *Ath. Mitt* 1896, p.287.

the Athenian Agora, under the direction of J. Walter Graham.[214] In contrast to the German excavations, the bulk of American work went into the private residential houses surrounding the shrine, though the Amyneion itself was cleaned and some new materials recovered.[215] In order to establish an overview for the precinct, then, we must wade through the *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* summaries from the late 19th century, in all of their German detail.[216] Apart from these accounts, and later summaries by Kutsch (1913) and Travlos (1976, only a page), no overview or final publication of the shrine has been produced. These excavations present an archaeological labyrinth, and so I refer to the DAI's plan and its alphabetic references throughout the discussion (Fig. 32).

Dörpfeld's excavations were thorough; they uncovered a trapezoidal precinct, its irregular dimensions defined by the roads that bound the shrine on its northern and western sides. We can assume that this shrine was a conspicuous one, with roads and Akropolis-Agora traffic channeled along two of its walls. At its largest extent the shrine stretched 17 x 15 meters.[217] It had limestone orthostate walls roughly 1 m. in height, with an entrance opening from the northwest (Fig. 32); in all stages of existence, the shrine was accessed from this direction. Dating from the earliest phase, a poros threshold block (1.25 m. in length) was found *in situ* within a recessed entryway, with cuttings for double doors that would have opened out onto the roadway. In the Roman period, this entrance was monumentalized in marble, with a small distyle propylon built on the then-raised road level.

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[214] Agora notebook: Graham, ΔE 1965.02.

[215] The Agora notebooks reveal that the northeast corner of the precinct wall was further defined, and "the walls of the street to its south were further defined by blocks found in the area" (Graham, ΔE 1965.02).

[216] Reference to these excavations occur in the following: Körte *Ath. Mitt.* 1893, pp.231-256; Dörpfeld *Ath. Mitt.* 1894, p. 496; Schrader *Ath. Mitt* 1896, p.265; Watzinger *Ath. Mitt* 1901, p.305. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the eight *DAI* journals kept during these excavations are unknown, last seen in 1964 and never since (as per Agora notebook, Graham, ΔE 1965.02.

[217] These measurements taken from Riethmüller 2005, II p. 13; the earlier measurements given by Körte (1893, 1896) suggest slightly smaller dimensions, but presumably this was because the boundaries were not yet defined.

To the left of the entrance a perirrhanterion base was found and, in the street nearby, a fragment of the basin itself, which carried a dedicatory inscription to Amynos, Ἀμύ[νωι], (*IG* II^2 4424). This perirrhanteion would have been used for ritual purification before entering the precinct; it held water with which visitors to the shrine could cleanse themselves. Such vessels often stood at entrances to sanctuaries and in front of temples and, like this ritual object, were sometimes dedicated as votive offerings.[218]

After purifying oneself and entering the precinct, the visitor would confront a grove of clustered votive *stelai*; the dedicatory bases found within the enclosure were numerous, and suggest that the entryway opened onto an outdoor area strewn with dedications. Some of the recovered *stelai* were quite imposing, such as the fourth century BCE dedication of Mnesiptoleme, recovered from the well (Fig. 35): Μνησιπτολέμη | ὑπὲρ Δικαιοφάνος | Ἀσκληπιῶι Ἀμύνωι | ἀνέθηκε (*IG* II^2 4365). With a shaft measuring 1.19 m. high, this dedication to Asklepios and Amynos once stood even taller; it bears a cutting on top for a votive dedication, possibly a metal statue or a marble sculpture.[219]

Of the precinct's many votives, one particularly interesting relief, *IG* II^2 4387 (... — ọιων τευξα — — | — ων σεμνοτάτην — — | [Λυσιμαχί]δης Λυσιμάχου Ἀχαρνε[ύς]), depicts the dedication of a large votive leg with a prominent varicose vein (Fig. 36). Though the scene can be interpreted in many ways, I understand this relief to depict the grateful dedicator himself, Lysimachides, offering an anatomical votive within the Amyneion precinct. Because the man clutching the leg has a strikingly "civic" appearance—with his chiton, himation, and bushy beard—it is possible that he could be a priest or even Amynos or Asklepios; this would be quite anomalous, however, as these votive reliefs usually depict the worshipper himself making an offering. In addition to the gargantuan limb and its throbbing vein, another fascinating detail of this votive is the small squared panel featuring

[218] Hurschmann 2015.
[219] *IG* II^2 4365; Körte *Ath. Mitt.* 1893, pp.231-256; Dörpfeld *Ath. Mitt.* 1894, p. 496.

a pair of feet, a deep set in-cutting that seems self-contained and exists apart from Lysimachides and the leg. Perhaps this can be understood as representing a *tupos* votive plaque, or another anatomical votive relief dedicated within the precinct; it would thus anchor the scene of ritual dedication within the sacred space of the sanctuary.[220]

Additionally, marble votives depicting anatomical body parts were recovered during the excavations, including breasts, genitals, and ears (Fig. 37); Körte also notes the recovery of sculpted votive fingers. A fragmentary dedication depicting a curled-up snake on a rock also emerged from the precinct, along with a votive of a bearded, upright snake; the iconography of both mirrors reliefs found in the Piraeus and south slope sanctuaries of Asklepios.[221] The anatomical votives, and possibly also the snake reliefs, suggest that the shrine was functioning as a healing cult proper by the early fourth century BCE at the latest, amassing dedications identical to those found in contemporary Attic Asklepieia with incubation facilities.

Another insight revealed by votives and inscriptions is that *several* divinities were receiving cult in this neighborhood shrine, in addition to Amynos. Again, I use the term "Amyneion" in line with previous scholarship, and it is true that Amynos received more dedications than any other divinity within the precinct; and so perhaps the "Amyneion" designation is an apt one. However, Asklepios also turns up as a recipient of five dedications, sometimes in tandem with Amynos.[222] It is interesting to note that this precinct was referred to by its own administration, a group of *orgeones*, as the shrine "of Amynos and of Asklepios," rather than as the "Amyneion:" …ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφι- | σμα ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις δυοῖν καὶ στῆσαι | τὴν μὲν ἐν τῶι τοῦ Δεξίονος ἱερῶι, τὴν δὲ | [ἐ]ν τῶι τοῦ

[220] Similar sorts of *pinakes* and reliefs hung on the wall within the sculpture workshop of the so-called Foundry Painter cup, where they served to indicate depth (the wall enclosing the space); they also appear on a votive to Asklepios from southern Italy in the form of anatomic votives, namely suspended limbs, where they indicate the sanctuary setting and the site's involvement in concerns of healing.
[221] Körte *Ath. Mitt*. 1893, p.242 (No. 9, 10, 26).
[222] *IG* II² 4422; *IG* II² 1252-3, 4365, 4457.

Ἀμύνου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.[223] Amynos and Asklepios were both understood as primary figures of worship here by the fourth century BCE; it seems that the precinct "belonged to" Asklepios just as much as to Amynos. Hygieia, too, turns up within the precinct by the Roman period, though was likely present earlier as a personified recipient of cult alongside Asklepios and Amynos.[224] A less expected divinity within the shrine was the goddess Kybele, whose presence is known from a seated statuette; she holds a tympanum in her left hand and cup in the right.[225] Two similar Kybele statuettes were found in the south slope Asklepieion.[226] A statuette of Telesephoros has also been linked to the Amyneion precinct, though the original reports note that the object was in fact found outside of the shrine, near "Building W;" we should be careful, therefore, in assigning a cultic presence to Telesephoros within the Amyneion, as his statuette could easily have come from a different context, used instead in domestic cult for example. Finally, a painted graffito on a fragmentary black-figure Hellenistic vessel preserves the name "Agatha Tyche" in the genitive, suggesting that she, too, might have been worshipped in this neighborhood precinct.[227] The "Amyneion" thus unfolds as a shrine with a motley collection of divinities; its local, residential nature and *orgeones*-run administration likely afforded a degree of fluidity with respect to which deities received worship by members of the club and local community. We need never assume that one precinct indicates the worship of one deity; this was, in fact, seldom the case in Classical Athens.

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[223] *IG* II² 1252.14-17. The Greek seems to state quite clearly that the shrine of Dexion was a separate precinct from that of Amynos and Asklepios, which required the erection of two separate *stelai* corresponding to the two separate precincts. Orgeônes or ὀργεῶνες were members of Attic clubs or societies, best attested in the fourth century BCE, who celebrated and tended to the sacrifices and other rites of a hero or god. *IG* II² 1252-3 provide some of the best information, in fact, with regard to the role played by these clubs in fourth century Athens.
[224] *IG* II² 4457.
[225] Körte *Ath. Mitt.* 1896, p.292 No.7
[226] Körte *Ath. Mitt.* 1896, p.292 No.7; south slope Asklepieion Kybele statuettes: Duhn *AZ* 1877, p.159 no. 60-61. Statuettes of Kybele have also been uncovered in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros (Kavvadias 1891, nr.64 & 157.) The houses surrounding the Amyneion shrine have yet to be published, taking exponentially longer than even this dissertation to complete; once they are published, however, it will be interesting to explore domestic cult within this neighborhood Athenian block, especially as Kybele is popular figure in contemporary domestic cult in, for example, the houses at Olynthos.
[227] Körte *Ath. Mitt.* 1896, S.294; Kutsch 1913, p.58 no.19.

Recently, Riethmüller has noted that the votive bases seem to cluster on axes along the north wall of the precinct and (less convincingly, I thought) "perpendicular to the west of the cult building."[228] He takes this observation a step further and suggests that this alignment preserves the invisible imprint of an altar around which these offerings clustered; he then links this (previously unidentified) altar to "Base C," a large poros block (1.225 m x 0.825 m.) that had been overlooked by previous investigations, masquerading—as it were—as just another offering base. I am skeptical about this identification, especially as the base is only slightly larger than many of the precinct's other *stelai* bases; furthermore, the hole in the block's center is unexplained, and the block itself has nothing that characterizes it as an altar with regard to wear or sunken surface cuttings. The take-away from Riethmüller's proposal, as it were, comes in the attention that it draws to the precinct's (missing) altar; the Amyneion surely had one upon which sacrifices were made, and this would have served as a prominent locus of ritual within the open courtyard.[229]

One fixed (and extant) architectural feature within the precinct was the well, labeled "K" on the DAI's plan (Fig. 32), which was cut into the soft shale rock to a depth of 4.10 meters. Körte also notes the recovery of a rectangular stone well-curb, which was not found *in situ* but had rather "wandered nearby," and was restored to the top of the well by the DAI.[230] Terracotta pipes were found both outside the precinct and within it (lines "U" and "T," respectively);[231] Dörpfeld connects these pipes to Well "K," but it should be noted that

[228] Riethmüller 2005 II, p.14; for issues concerning the "cult building," see below.
[229] Though an altar was surely present somewhere within the precinct, we should be cautious in associating it with "Base C" or even positing a location on the basis of the current alignment of bases; it is possible that the bases had wandered over the centuries from their original locations, especially as so many of the dedications themselves were cannibalized for reuse. Travlos even notes that, by his day, some of the bases had disappeared and that others had been moved from their initial findspot (Travlos p.76). For a later *votive* altar found within the sanctuary (0.27 m. high, with a letter height of 0.012 m.), see Körte *AM* 1896, pp.296-298, *IG* II^2 4457.
[230] Körte *AM* 1893, pp.231-56; Körte *AM* 1896, pp.287-332.
[231] As translated directly from Körte 1896 *AM*, p.287: "the history of the well is very important as an old waterchannel of terracotta pipes [='U' on plan, "Thonröhen"] ran directly toward it, passing through a hole in the wellhead, which demonstrates that water was conducted into the well. The terracotta pipes match exactly in form and technique with the large pipes for Peisistratid channels, but are only smaller in diameter. So it is certain that the well sometime already in the 6th century had added a fresh water line, which was undoubtedly

neither is on direct access with the well, and requires angling the projected line of piping (though as the pipes were constructed in pieces, perhaps this is not problematic, see Fig. 38).

It is a matter of debate as to whether there was a small walled structure within the precinct against the eastern wall, and different plans reveal little consensus among archaeologists. Dörpfeld and Körte argued for the presence of a "cult building" built up against the eastern wall of the precinct.[232] The stratigraphy seems muddled at best, with foundations admittedly scanty, but in the earliest excavations the structure was described as a "small temple of the healing hero;" the remains of three walls were thought to form a room roughly 3.30 m. by 3.50 m. large.[233] Körte notes that the structure is particularly "unscheinbare:" it lacked an anteroom or forehall, and had been rebuilt several times, which explained in part the difficult and superimposed stratigraphy. Examining the shrine in the following century, however, Travlos concluded that "there was no building or small temple and that it was an open-air shrine."[234] He writes that the remains seen by Dörpfeld were actually the worn traces of retaining walls, which supported earthen fill used to level the sloping terrace. Travlos notes that the only roofed structure would have been a simple stoa with "wooden columns standing on stone bases two of which have survived."[235] There are no structural foundations of any sort, however, that can be linked to a stoa, and proposing a stoa on such scanty evidence seems a touch brazen. Could it be possible that the two circular stones referenced by Travlos were dedicatory bases, rather than architectural ones? Like Travlos, Wycherley denied the presence of a small covered shrine within the

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better than the well water in that area. How long the old pipeline was in use, we do not know. The presence of a younger line (a squared clay channel) [labeled "T" on the plan], coming in from the east, suggests that the older line for some reason had become unusable and had to be replaced."

[232] Körte *AM* 1896, p.289: "ein Tempelchen des Heilheros".

[233] Körte *AM* 1896, p.289.

[234] Travlos 1971, p.76.

[235] Travlos 1971, p.76.

precinct, also writing that these were foundations for the retaining wall of the terrace.[236] More recently, Riethmüller has revived the idea of a covered cult building against the middle of the eastern wall; he notes, however, that it should be shifted 1.5 m. further north, and that the southernmost wall of the structure would thus *not* have been aligned with or contiguous to "Well K."[237] Riethmüller thinks that the cult building would have housed three cult images: Asklepios, Hygieia, and Amynos.[238] There is no clear conclusion to be drawn regarding the existence of a cult building, though the discovery of a marble *trapeza* near the middle of the precinct's eastern wall could be seen as evidence supporting an interior structure (the table thus situated within the small building). The cult table was elaborately decorated, with carved legs ending in lion's paws, rebated with two snakes in relief.[239] Perhaps future excavations will shed light on the layout of this puzzling precinct.

2.7.2 Chronological Quagmires

I have reserved discussion of dating, except with regard to broadly "Classical" dates for votive offerings and inscriptions, along with the Roman propylon, for this final section; this is primarily because the shrine's chronology is puzzling, with weighty consequences for the study of the earliest Attic healing cults. As noted above, scholarship has traditionally dated the precinct of Amynos to the sixth cenutry BCE, if not earlier; this seems problematic, however, because the earliest votive offerings and inscriptions to Amynos, Asklepios, or anyone else, are only fourth century in date.[240] Should we not be troubled by this vast chronological gap? As I see it, there are three ways to interpret this data. First, that it is just

[236] Wycherley 1970, pp. 283-295.
[237] The round base labeled "E" would also therefore lie outside of the building to the south. Riethmüller bases this conclusion on a comparison with the plan of Travlos and "subsequent measurements." Riethmüller 2005 II, p.14.
[238] Riethmüller 2005 II, p.17.
[239] Travlos 1971, p.76.
[240] The unpublished houses surrounding the shrine are all fourth century or later in date, as far I am aware; though it is likely that they date back in their earliest phases to the Archaic and Classical periods.

a strange coincidence that no earlier votive material from the Archaic and early Classical periods survived, but Amynos was worshipped as a healing hero in the precinct from its foundation in the sixth century BCE. A second possibility is that the precinct was actually only established during the late fifth century, the period to which the earliest votives and inscriptions date. And a third possibility is some combination of the first two, in which the precinct was indeed quite old (sixth century BCE) but Amynos only became worshipped as a healer at a later date, namely the time in which the majority of the votive inscriptions and Asklepios appear in the shrine (late fifth/early fourth century BCE).

First, an examination of the reported ceramics. The excavations uncovered a good deal of early pottery, on the basis of which Dörpfeld and Körte postulated a foundation date sometime *before* the sixth century BCE.[241] The majority of this ceramic material is still unpublished, with the exception of two sherds from different Panathenaic Amphorae (fourth century, noted below). Otherwise, the excavation summaries in *AM* report that Geometric and early Attic sherds were found in the vicinity of the precinct, and that Protokorinthian, Attic Black-Figure, and all later Attic wares were thoroughly represented, including two broken fragments from Panathenaic amphoras; the first preserves the beginning of the inscription TON AΘH- and the shield of Athena, while the second shows part of a column and, above it, the dress and foot of a floating Nike figure.[242] During the excavations, however, stratigraphy as it related to ceramic sherds was not taken into account and so the earliest styles (Geometric) cannot be associated with the earliest phase of the sanctuary, as Mylonopoulos intimates above. That early pottery was found in and around the Amyneion is hardly surprising, so close is the region to the slopes of the

[241] Körte *Ath.Mitt.* 1893, pp.231-56; Körte *Ath.Mitt.* 1896, pp.287-332.
[242] *CAVI* I, no. 203 c, 6.49.

Akropolis; this area was inhabited since earliest times and, as Kutsch states in reference to the oldest sherds, "sie erweisen noch keinen Kult."[243]

What *is* understood by Dörpfeld, Körte, and Kutsch to represent cult, however, is a stretch of Archaic terracotta piping (="U" on plan) that runs from the south into a well within the walls of the Amyneion precinct (="K" on plan, see Fig. 32). Note that only the well, and not the Archaic pipe lie within the precinct of the *temenos*. The Archaic dating of the shrine turns upon this pipeline and the well that it purportedly feeds into, and so I ask patience in the following (painstaking) dissection of Körte's excavation summaries.[244] First, Körte interpreted this pipeline as distinctly "Peisistratid" in style. He noted that this pipe matched the style and technique of other Athenian pipes of Peisistratid vintage, though this one was significantly smaller in diameter. Körte interpreted the Peisistratid pipe as feeding into the Amyneion's well, which was cut into the soft shale rock to a depth of 4.10 m. The well's curb stone had a circular hole cut into it, which Dörpfeld and Körte understood the Peisistratid pipe to run into; in other words, fresh water from these Peisistratid pipes was conducted into the well, and both well and pipes dated to the Archaic period.[245] This early well was then interpreted as the ancient healing source that once formed the nucleus for the early worship of the healer Amynos, as healing cults generally required a water source for on site healing. And so in sum, because this "Peisistratid" pipe was assumed to connect to a well within the Amyneion, Körte placed the foundation of the entire shrine in the sixth century BCE at the latest, where it has hardly been questioned since. Again, it should be emphasized that the piping under consideration was found *outside* of the precinct's walls;

[243] Kutsch 1913, p.12.
[244] With the following pulled from: Körte *Ath.Mitt.* 1893, pp.231-56; Körte *Ath.Mitt.* 1896, pp.287-332.
[245] As noted above, it is not certain that the pipe actually ran into the well; a glance at the proposed trajectory shows that the alignment is off (Fig. 38). Again, perhaps this was not a problem, based on the way that these pipes were constructed in fragments that joined to one another. I also wonder whether it was unusual for water to be piped into a well, rather than the well providing ground water from the water table?

when the shrine was excavated, the well did not have any piping going into it, or even lying in its near vicinity.

Like pipes in the region, questions abound with Körte's interpretations. First, can we securely posit an Archaic healing cult solely on the basis of an Archaic well and nearby pipeline? I do not doubt their dating of the pipe or well in the slightest; they were far superior archaeologists than I am. I do however wonder about the extent of their logic—does an early well and Peisistratid pipe the Amyneion make? This busy region teemed, in other words, with wells and water pipes during the Archaic and Classical periods, and it seems like Dörpfeld did indeed uncover and diagnose Archaic piping—but can we assume that the Amyneion precinct was also in existence at this early time, because there was a well and piped-in source of freshwater here? It seems possible that the shrine could have in fact grown up around the well, and need not have been there as early as the well; in this scenario, the walls of the *temenos* only later came to demarcate the space as sacred. It seems like we should entertain the idea, at the very least, that the well and "Peisistratid" water pipes were serving this area during the Archaic period, but not necessarily within the extant healing shrine of Amynos. Amynos, a protector hero with "warding off" abilities, thus came more gradually to be linked with this locality, a hero associated with the well or perhaps even the crossroads intersection.

Dörpfeld and Körte also thought that the masonry technique used for the peribolos walls—large limestone orthostate blocks—was characteristically sixth century in masonry style. However, rather than being diagnostically sixth century, Riethmüller correctly observed this same masonry style in other *temene* in central Athens, all of which date to the second half of the fifth century BCE.[246] He draws a comparison with the nearby "Dionysion" or shrine of Herakles Alexikakos just to the north, which shares many similarities with the

[246] Riethmüller 2005 II, p.15, with bibliography.

Amyneion, including its irregular shape and location, situated in a residential neighborhood alongside major roads. He also compares the Amyneion's masonry style to the small triangular sanctuary in the southwest of the Agora, the shrine "of the hero," in addition to the Tritopatreion in the Kerameikos.[247] All of these structures date *not* to the sixth century, but rather the later fifth, and their masonry style matches that of the Amyneion quite closely. There is nothing inherently or exclusively sixth century, in other words, about the masonry style of the Amyneion's *peribolos* walls.

I raise these issues not to nitpick, but rather because I find troubling the discrepancy between the early date assigned to the precinct's masonry and terracotta piping (Archaic, Peisistratid, respectively), and the much later dates of the earliest inscriptions, votives, and dedications, none of which can be said to securely predate the early fourth century BCE. The exceptions noted in Körte's reports are a few terracotta female figurines described as looking "Archaic," but these figurines are notoriously difficult to date, have no established typology, were not excavated stratigraphically; as they depict female deities, furthermore, they need not be immediately associated with Amynos.[248] Where, in other words, are the dedications, reliefs, and inscriptions from the sixth and fifth centuries, in such an otherwise extremely well preserved shrine with an abundance of material remains?

To review, scholarship presents the Aymneion as a healing shrine dating from at least the sixth century BCE—this is the accepted and unquestioned architectural history of the cult. Later, sometime around the early fourth century BCE, Asklepios moves into the precinct with Amynos, and the two receive cult together. However, a thorough study of the excavation reports shows that Amynos is not attested before the fourth century, the time at which Asklepios also appears in the precinct. In fact, according to Körte's reports in *Ath. Mitt.*, no votive reliefs or inscribed dedications whatsoever can be shown to securely

[247] Riethmüller 2005 II, p.15.
[248] Körte *Ath.Mitt.* 1893, p.243; Körte *Ath.Mitt.* 1896, p.293.

predate the fourth century BCE; the pottery intimates earlier activity (perhaps beside the well?), but does not speak specifically to cult and was not excavated stratigraphically.

2.7.3 Conclusion

What then *can* be said about this intriguing precinct? I intend to leave the body of this section primarily as a collation of source material, which serves to flesh out the precinct's architecture and material remains; by saving my interpretations for the conclusion, I hope to open a dialogue about this important shrine and to inspire different analyses that can also accommodate the extant material evidence. We are fortunately dealing with a well-preserved sanctuary, yielding material that speaks to the cult's deities, administration, and devotees. Robert Parker wrote "through an exceptionally rewarding excavation, we can follow the history of the modest shrine from the sixth century to the Roman period";[249] however the shrine's early history, and the nature of the heroes being worshipped there, is by no means so transparent.

It seems that the Amyneion could indeed have been an older shrine that developed and grew alongside the community in which it was located. It was a space sacred to a hero with broadly protective, "warding off" capabilities, Amynos by name. The site was a prominent one, situated at the crossing of two major roads; it also supported a well, no doubt helping to ward-off thirst within the residential community, as well as poor hygiene. Votives emerge in abundance, but only in the early fourth century BCE, and reveal that the shrine was clearly functioning as a healing cult, though likely one lacking incubation facilities by this time. I suggest that it is *no* coincidence that the shrine only began to yield dedications and votives of a healing nature after the late fifth century, the time in which a number of other healing heroes were established in cults across Attica. That the shadowy

[249] Parker 1996, p.176.

hero Amynos came to be associated with—and specialized in—health concerns by this time is most apparent in the presence of Asklepios within the precinct. Asklepios in effect signals a clear shift to the "Amyneion's" specialization in healing. As shown by votives, Aymnos by the fourth century was also tending to individual health concerns; his general "warding off" capacity had become streamlined, likely in the climate that gave rise to the healing cults of the *Heros Iatros*, Asklepios, and Amphiaraos. This sort of scenario makes better sense than one in which the Amyneion functioned as an Archaic healing cult, though one lacking dedications, votives, and inscriptions until the early fourth century BCE, the time at which Asklepios joins the precinct. Alternative explanations can easily be found, and it seems possible that the shrine as a whole could have been established later, or that the shift in the cult's healing specialization could be tied instead to a change in administration. Could the precinct have adopted the character of a healing cult when it came under the control of *orgeones*, for example? Was the hero Amynos always present in this shrine? For now, these questions must go unanswered. However, if my interpretation of the material remains is correct, then the Amyneion reveals the change that older deities could undergo on account of the late fifth century healing cult "phenomenon." Older, localized cults and their heroes could take on new meanings to better serve the community in which they took part; they could change in response to the needs of their worshippers, and to accommodate contemporary trends in religious and social practice.

Part II: Conclusion

Parts I and II of this project have shown how communal discourses, concerns, and crises in fifth century Athens could shape the ways in which communities organized their religious landscapes, and negotiated the integration of new cults and deities. In particular, the establishment of healing cults can be understood as an avenue through which Athenian communities tried to address health concerns at the state, family, and individual level. Although Athenian religion shows a constant ebb and flow of gods within its pantheon, the second part of this dissertation argues that Athens experienced an atypical surge in a new, specialized type of deity at this time: the healing hero and his distinct incubation cult. The sudden emergence of deities concerned with health was striking and deliberate, and reflected a larger phenomenon at work upon Athenian society; this was manifest in the near simultaneous foundation of several healing cults across Attica in a period of less than ten years: at least three, though likely four, cults of Asklepios (Piraeus, Akropolis, Agora, Eleusis), possibly two cults of the Heros Iatros (Eleusis and central Athens). The shrine of Amynos in central Athens also seems to function as a healing cult around this same time, housing both Amynos and Asklepios within the precinct by the early fourth century BCE. These cults are discussed in detail, with evidence collated from a wide range of sources such as inscriptions, relief sculpture, literature (Athenian historiography, comedy, and oratory), sacred architecture, and archaeological remains. Together they suggest that something of a "healing" movement was underway in late fifth century Athens, and to these cult foundations can now be added the healing sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos.

Part III
Amphiaraos Into Attica

Overview & Introduction

The third and final part of this project explores the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos, another healing cult established on Athenian-controlled soil in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE. That the Amphiareion at Oropos first appears in the archaeological and literary record in the last quarter of the fifth century should remind the reader of trends observed across Part II of this dissertation, in relation to the nearly contemporary foundations of several other Attic healing cults. The cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos proves an interesting if perplexing case study; questions abound as to *why* and *how* an Argive seer and warrior came to preside over a healing cult on the northeastern frontier of Attica. Part III examines these questions through a study of Amphiaraos, the region of the Oropia, and the iatromantic sanctuary itself. Discussion begins with the figure of Amphiaraos in both myth and cult (3.1); it is necessary to explore the early traditions surrounding the hero in order to understand the transformation that he undergoes in his cult at Oropos. Discussion then turns to the region of Oropos in northeastern Attica, on the border between Athens and Thebes (3.2). The fate of the extra-urban sanctuary is tied to the city of Oropos; the historical developments of both the sanctuary and the greater Oropia region are traced, therein establishing a framework through which fluctuations in regional and sanctuary administration can be seen (3.3). In section 3.4 the sanctuary itself is presented in a synthesis of archaeological, material, and epigraphic sources, which unite to illuminate the workings of the Classical cult during its earliest years. Finally, different "foundation scenarios" are considered, with the final conclusion that the cult was an Athenian

foundation during the last quarter of the fifth century, sometime prior to the year 414 BCE (3.5). I argue that the cult was established on account of the social, political, and medical changes discussed in Part I of this dissertation, as another instance of the "healing cult phenomenon" presented in Part II. The healing cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos thus ties together the previous two parts of this dissertation, and ultimately reveals how a religious cult could change to meet the social needs of a *polis* during a time of war and crisis.

The material from the excavations of the Amphiareion has never been discussed in any depth in English scholarship, and I hope at the very least that my synthesis and translations will be of help to those interested in this important regional sanctuary, whether regarding the site's architectural development, its complicated chronologies, inscriptions, votives, or small finds. Furthermore, no previous project has examined the sanctuary of Amphiaraos in relation to the larger regional histories of Oropos, Thebes, and Athens, or combined epigraphic material with literary, archaeological, and visual sources in a way that allows for the discussion of an individual's lived experience within the sanctuary. I also hope that Part III makes a contribution to the wider scholarship on Greek sanctuaries, rituals and "personal" religion during the Classical period, as well as the history of this little known but important region on the border of Athenian and Boiotian territory. The town of Oropos tells a fascinating story in and of itself, which adds much to the larger historical and political landscapes of the Classical period. With its focus on the development of the sanctuary of Amphiaraos and the larger region Oropos, Part III can stand as its own project; yet by including it here, and yoking it to larger trends at work within Classical Athenian society, the foundation of the Amphiareion can be understood as part of a much larger cultic response to the changes and crises of fifth century Athens, that is, the rise of Attic healing cults.

3.1 Amphiaraos in Myth and Cult: The Literary Sources

"As for me, I will enrich this earth, a seer concealed beneath enemy soil. Let us fight! I anticipate no dishonorable fate." Aesch. *Sept*. 587-8

From the dawn of the Archaic period and centuries prior, troupes of nameless Homers made famous the name of Amphiaraos as "the greatest seer" on earth.[1] Amphiaraos first appears in the *Odyssey*, though he likely featured more prominently in the lost poems comprising the Theban Cycle. Throughout early epic, Amphiaraos is renowned for his prowess on the battlefield and his skill as a seer; Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, and Euripides focus on his propensity for—and mastered competency in—the mantic arts. The first reference to a *cult* of Amphiaraos appears in Herodotus; the sanctuary, famous throughout the Archaic world and located near Thebes, provided oracles through ritualized oneiromancy. By 414 BCE, however, literary sources show that Amphiaraos had come to assume a new identity, namely that of a healing hero, in what was likely a second cult located on the Attica/Boiotia border at Oropos.

This section traces Amphiaraos' mythological and cultic trajectory—as a warrior, seer, and eventually, a healer—across oral and literary sources of the eighth through fifth centuries BCE. From the time of Homer until the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, it appears that references to Amphiaraos are singularly oracular in nature; he was a warrior and a seer, with no connection to healing for the first three centuries of Greek literature. My treatment here is not comprehensive, primarily because the figure of Amphiaraos has received thorough philological attention in recent years;[2] rather, I present the most important sources and provide supplementary bibliography throughout. We begin with the figure of Amphiaraos in mythology.

[1] Hom. *Od.* 15.253.
[2] Doyen 2013; Sineux 2007; Hubbard 1992.

3.1.1 Amphiaraos in Myth

The story of Amphiaraos as it appeared in epic, epinician, and Attic tragedy can be summarized as follows. Predating the struggle between Polyneikes and Eteokles—that great quarrel between brothers, which led most immediately to the battle dramatized in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*—was an earlier quarrel involving two Argives, Adrastos and Amphiaraos.[3] The two vied for power until Adrastos was driven out of Argos, establishing himself soon after as king in nearby Sikyon. Eventually the two were reconciled and, in an olive-branch betrothal, Adrastos' sister Eriphyle married Amphiaraos.[4] Amphiaraos in turn agreed to abide by Eriphyle's arbitration in the event of a future disagreement. Come this judgment did, when Adrastos organized an expedition against Thebes on behalf of Polyneikes, his son-in-law. Though Amphiaraos foresaw the expedition's doom, he was compelled to join on account of Eriphyle's urging; bribed by a necklace, his treacherous wife forced his participation.[5] So striking are depictions of Amphiaraos' departure in Archaic vase painting—and prominent the treachery of Eriphyle (as shown by the painter's inclusion of the necklace)—that this scene must have been one of the epic's most thrilling (Figs. 39-40);[6] it featured significantly on the "Chest of Kypselos," described centuries later by Pausanias at Olympia.[7] In this capacity Amphiaraos emerges as something of a tragic, Kassandra-like figure: an unwilling warrior who died in a battle that he alone foresaw and warned against.

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[3] This story was known in some form to Homer (*Od*. 11.326-7; 15.244-7); see too Apollod. *Biblio*. 1.9.13; Paus. 2.6.3; Hyg. *Fab.* 69.

[4] On the figure of Eriphyle, see Sineux 2007, pp.38-45.

[5] Later, in a cycle of vengeance resembling that of Orestes and Klytaimnestra, Amphiaraos' son Alkmaeon would grow up to murder his mother Eriphyle on account of her treachery; in turn Alkmaeon is pursued by the Furies: Apollod. 3.6.; Hygin. *Fab*. 73; Diod. 4.65; Hom. *Od*. 15.247.

[6] For representations of Eriphyle with her necklace, see *LIMC* 1.1 (1981), 694-6.

[7] Paus 5.17.7-8 (trans. W.H.S. Jones): "Next is wrought the house of Amphiaraos, and baby Amphilochos is being carried by some old woman or other. In front of the house stands Eriphyle with the necklace, and by her are her daughters Eurydike and Demonassa, and the boy Alkmaeon naked. Asios in his poem makes out Alkmena also to be a daughter of Amphiaraos and Eriphyle. Baton is driving the chariot of Amphiaraos, holding the reins in one hand and a spear in the other. Amphiaraos already has one foot on the chariot and his sword drawn; he is turned towards Eriphyle in such a transport of anger that he can scarcely refrain from striking her." On the chest of Kypselos and its imagery, see Splitter 2000; Borg 2010.

With this introduction in place, we turn to the treatment of Amphiaraos in literature, diachronically to observe changes over time. At least as far back as the eighth century BCE, Amphiaraos was renowned as a seer, as shown in Book 15 of the *Odyssey*.[8] In departing from Pylos, Telemachos picked up an Argive named Theoklymenos who traced his lineage and mantic abilities back to Amphiaraos and, through Amphiaraos, Melampos. Prominent within the anecdote are Amphiaraos' Argive origins, his oracular abilities, and his death at Thebes:

> "Oikles fathered Amphiaraos, driver of armies, whom storming Zeus and Apollo loved intensely, giving to him every form of kindness. He never reached old age, but he died at Thebes on account of the bribe (δώρων) of his wife. He left behind two sons, Alkmaeon and Amphilochos." Hom. *Od*. 15. 245-49

> "But of Polypheides, high of heart, Apollo made a seer, by far the best of mortals after Amphiaraos had died."
>
> Hom. *Od*. 15. 253

This early account shades Amphiaraos as a renowned Argive warrior and seer; his lineage is familiar and recognized. The passage also calls attention to Amphiaraos' death in the expedition of the Seven Against Thebes. A later version of the myth, preserved in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* runs as follows:[9]

> "And in the palace Eriphyle bore Alkmaion, shepherd of the people, to Amphiaraos. The Kadmean women admired Amphiaraos when they saw face to face his eyes and well-grown frame, as he was busied with the burying of Oedipus, the man of many woes… when the Danai, servants of Ares, followed [Polyneikes] to Thebes, to win renown. For although [Amphiaraos], knowing well from Zeus all things ordained, the earth yawned and swallowed him up with his horses and jointed chariot, far from the deep Alpheos."
>
> Hes. *Cat*. fr. 99 (trans. Evelyn-White)

[8] That the *Odyssey* was composed in the mid-eight century BCE, see Janko 2011; Andersen & Haugh 2011.
[9] At least in antiquity, Hesiod was thought to be the author of the *Catalogue of Women*; modern scholarship is far less sure. That the *Catalogue* was composed after the *Odyssey* during the seventh century BCE—a view with which I agree—see Cingano 2009, p.105; Janko 2011, pp.42-43. For an alternative view, see West 1985, p.127. On Hesiod more broadly see Montanari, Rengakos, & Tsagalis 2009.

This passage reveals an evolution of the tradition, departing from the *Odyssey* with regard to Amphiaraos' death at Thebes. In *The Catalogue of Women*, Amphiaraos does not die *per se*, but rather is engulfed within the earth along with his chariot. Again, Amphiaraos' distinguishing characteristic is his prophetic ability; even the Theban women note his striking eyes, another reference to his prowess as a seer.

While today the tales surrounding the Seven Against Thebes are best known from Attic tragedy, the tragedians of the Classical period were pulling on earlier traditions that circulated in the Θηβαϊκὸς Κύκλος—a compendium of lost epics known as the "Theban Cycle."[10] Four poems are thought to have comprised the Theban Cycle: the *Thebaid*, the *Epigoni*, the *Oedipodea*, and the *Alkmeonis.* All were composed in dactylic hexameter, and committed to writing between 750-500 BCE.[11] Amphiaraos seems to have been an especially prominent character in the *Thebaid*, which in itself may have included a smaller poem known as the Ἀμφιάρεω Ἔξελασία. Mentioned in two much later sources, the poem focused on Amphiaraos and his role in the expedition against Thebes.[12] The motif of Amphiaraos consumed beneath the earth formed part of the Theban Cycle, and like the scene of departure also featured in Archaic vase iconography.[13]

Next, in two fifth century odes of Pindar, *Olympian* 10 and *Nemean* 9, Amphiaraos features quite prominently. Both poems date to the same period, performed in either 472 or 468 BCE; Pindar likely used the *Thebaid* as his source in composition.[14] Perhaps this is on account of Pindar's Theban upbringing (and tendency to promote Theban cults), as well as the trope of epinician to employ heroic comparanda to whom the ode's patron could be

[10] Doyen 2013, pp. 183-203; West 2003, pp. 4-11.
[11] Janko 2011; West 2003, pp. 4-11; Sineux 2007, p.17; Andersen & Haugh 2011.
[12] Ps-Herodotus, *Vit. Hom.* 9 (197 Allen) from the second century CE, and *Suda s.v.* Ὅμηρος. Both Sineux and Doyen explore the figure of Amphiaraos within this early epic tradition, and those seeking a detailed treatment should consult these two recent works: Sineux 2007, pp. 17-63; Doyen 2013, pp. 183-203.
[13] Iconography: *LIMC* I.1.698-700, nos. 37-41, 44-46. Hubbard 1992, p.102, especially fn.68.
[14] For other references to Amphiaraos in Pindar, see also: *Nem.* 10.8, which lists Amphiaraos alongside a number of Argive heroes; *Pyth.* 8.39-56, which depicts Amphiaraos as an oracle, prophesizing during the time of the *Epigonoi*; Fr.43, which portrays him counseling Amphilochos. See Hubbard 1992, p.93 and *passim*.

likened.[15] Skilled as a warrior and wise as a seer, not to mention associated with horses and chariots, Amphiaraos proved a fitting figure:

> "Hagesias, that praise is for you, which once Adrastos' tongue spoke well for the seer Amphiaraos, son of Oikles, when the earth swallowed him up with his shining horses. In Thebes, when the seven pyres of corpses had been consumed, the son of Talaos spoke the following: 'I long for the eye of my army, a man who was good both as a prophet and at fighting with the spear.'"
>
> Pind. *Ol*. 6.12-16 (Trans. W. Race)

> "For once Adrastos fled from bold-thinking Amphiaraos and terrible civil strife, from his ancestral home of Argos; and the sons of Talaos were no longer rulers, overpowered by sedition. A stronger man puts an end to the previous justice. The sons of Talaos gave man-conquering Eriphyle as a faithful pledge in marriage to Amphiaraos, son of Oikles, and became the most powerful of the golden-haired Danaans. And once they led a noble army of men to seven-gated Thebes—an expedition not attended by birds of good omen. In their mad desire to leave home, the son of Kronos, by whirling his lightning-bolt, urged them not to go, but to abstain from the journey.
> And so in bronze armor, with their horses in war-harnesses, that company was hastening to arrive at manifest doom. And planting their sweet return on the banks of the Ismenos, they fattened the white-flowering smoke with their corpses. For seven funeral pyres feasted on their bodies' young limbs. But, for the sake of Amphiaraos, Zeus with his all-powerful thunderbolt split the deep-breasted earth, and concealed him together with his horses, before he could be struck in the back by the spear of Periklymenos, and his warlike spirit disgraced."
>
> Pind. *Nem*. 9.11-25 (Trans., W. Race, with adaptations by author)

Pindar depicts Amphiaraos as a complex figure: a haunting bringer of strife, yet also helpless in halting an expedition that he knew from the onset was doomed (*N*.9.13-15, 18-22). Beyond a doubt, these poems reinforce Amphiaraos' oracular abilities; Pindar calls him "the eye" of the expedition against Thebes (*O*.6.17). Like the *Catalogue of Women*, these poems make reference to Amphiaraos' interment as a mark of distinction—a preservation

[15] Pindar on Theban cults (in non-epinician poems, especially his hymns (Hymn 1, "For the Thebans in Honor of Zeus", paeans, dithyrambs, etc.): see Race 1997, pp.222-319; Furley and Bremer pp.102-115, 182-206; Mackil 2013, pp.190-2; Kurke 2013, pp.101-175; Rutherford 2001; Currie 2005. For epinician's tendency to use heroic parallels for mortal patrons, see Bundy 1962; Kurke 1991; Segal 2014.

and privilege rather than a battlefield death. It was a thunderbolt, purposefully sent by Zeus, which caused the earth to split open; the cleft then concealed Amphiaraos and his chariot, allowing him to disappear without death or defeat by a mortal hand. Thus, what in the *Odyssey* was the ballad of Amphiaraos' death had, by the fifth century, been comfortably reshuffled as a battlefield distinction, a mark of honor and dearness to Zeus; though it is of course unknown whether this was a tradition invented by Pindar or one simply preserved by him. The paradigm of praise surrounding Amphiaraos is also clear through the analogy in *O.*6.17, where Amphiaraos and the ode's celebrant, Hagesias, are directly compared.

Hubbard notes that in all references to Amphiaraos, Pindar "insists on his location at Thebes… I would argue that the combination of terror and awe which he inspired in *N.*9 is especially appropriate to a chthonian hero, who has become identified with Theban soil."[16] The tradition preserved in Pindar was also clearly passed down to later writers; Pausanias, for example, reports that Amphiaraos in fact rose up out of this earthly interment and ascended into the heavens as a god (but at the site of Oropos, Paus. 1.34.4).

Perhaps the best-known account surrounding the mythological exploits of Amphiaraos comes from Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*. Produced in 467 BCE, the account adds little in the way of novelty to Amphiaraos' identity as examined previously; rather, this tradition is similar to that preserved in Pindar's *N.*9 with which it was a close contemporary. It affirms his identity as a heroic Argive warrior and seer:

> "The sixth man I will name is of the highest moderation and a seer brave in combat, mighty Amphiaraos… No symbol was fixed to his shield's circle. For he does not wish to appear the bravest, but to be the bravest, as he harvests the fruit of his mind's deep folds, where his careful resolutions grow."
>
> Aesch. *Sept*. 569-595 (Trans., A. Sommerstein)

[16] The mythological tradition in which Pindar partakes is one that valorizes Amphiaraos' earthly engulfment; it is easy to see how this account could lend itself to actual cult practice in which visitors "lie down to sleep within the temple," close to the earth, in order to obtain a prophecy (Hdt. 8.134). See too Hubbard 1992, p. 102.

Like earlier traditions, Aeschylus characterizes Amphiaraos by his prophetic abilities, his prudent wisdom, and his valor in battle. This proves a fitting time to mention another play by Aeschylus, the lost *Eleusinioi*, which was composed in the wake of the Persian Wars likely in the late 470s.[17] The play is known from a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Theseus* (29); it seems to have involved a reformulation of the traditional Seven Against Thebes myth, plausibly in conjunction with Athenian political (and possibly cultic) agendas.[18] The narrative ran as follows: in the aftermath of the great battle—when Argive corpses littered the Theban countryside—the mythical king of Athens, Theseus, united with Adrastos to effect the recovery of the Argive war dead. In other words, Aeschylus brings Athens into the tradition surrounding the Seven Against Thebes as something of a postscript, as the city that persuaded the Thebans to give up the bodies of the fallen Argives. Theseus is ultimately successful in this endeavor. Afterwards the king grants Attic burials to the fallen Argive soldiery at Eleutherai, and to the seven leaders at Eleusis. Beyond this we do not know the greater plot details; it seems likely, however, that Amphiaraos would have featured as a character within the *Eleusinioi*. Suffice to say that in the works of Aeschylos, we see a reformulation of the epic tradition, with Athens now given a place within the myth of the Seven Against Thebes.

Writing as late as the 420s, Herodotus too was aware of the tradition by which Athens intervenes in the retrieval of the Argive war dead at Thebes, and provides for proper burial at Eleusis.[19] His account differs from Aeschylus' in that Athens "sent out an army against the Kadmeans," which intimates that there were once different traditions

[17] See Plut. *Thes.* 29.4-5 and Steinbock 2013, pp.178-9.
[18] Furthermore, Plutarch cites the Atthidographer Philochoros as the authority for the myth's connection with Attic cult tradition: Pl. *Thes*. 29.4, Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 112. That the myth became a commonplace of Attic propaganda, cf. Hdt. 9.27.3, Lys. 2.7-10, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.46, Dem. 60.8, Isoc. *Panegyr.* 54-58, Plato *Menex*. 239b. On all of this, cogently summarized, see Hubbard 1992, pp.97-99.
[19] On a date in the 420's BCE for Herodotus' latest writings, see Marincola 2001, p.24. Fornara even suggests that the *Histories* was published as late as 414 BCE, or at the very least that the work reached an Athenian public around that time (1971, p.25)

surrounding Athens' method of securing burial for the corpses.[20] In the tradition known to Herodotus, Athens launched something of a just war against Thebes in order to recover and bury the Argive war dead. Though Amphiaraos is not mentioned by Herodotus in connection with this tradition, the larger theme is an important one: there was yet another re-shuffling of the myth surrounding the Seven Against Thebes, in which Athens assumed an even more prominent place. By making war on Thebes in order to recover the Argive war dead, and then burying them on the Attic border, Athens was essentially coopting the seven Argive leaders, and in death making them their own. Through this reformulation the Athenians can be seen as inserting themselves and their newly powerful city into a much older and widespread mythological tradition, as Athens had largely "missed out" on epic poetry of its own. Centuries later Pausanias would report seeing the tombs of the Seven Against Thebes at Eleusis, where they no doubt received cult and afforded protection to Athens, the *polis* in which they were given burial.[21]

In the later tragedies of Euripides, namely the *Suppliants*, *Hypsipyle*, and *Phoenician Women*, Amphiaraos makes an appearance in association with the Seven Against Thebes;[22] throughout these works, the same traits emerge: he is a great seer and warrior, who warned against the expedition to Thebes. Though shown in association with the expedition against Thebes, Amphiaraos manages to "stick out," as it were, with a degree of prominence not afforded the other Argive warriors. Especially in the *Suppliants* Amphiaraos is, in the words of Sineux, "l'objet d'une glorification."[23]

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[20] Hdt. 9.27.3.

[21] Paus. 1.39.2. So too, most obviously, for Oedipus at Kolonos. For a discussion on competition between *poleis* for the "cultural capital" of mythological heroes, which so clearly applies to the Seven Against Thebes and to Oedipus (and, I would argue, Amphiaraos!), see Hall 1999, pp. 49-59.

[22] *Suppliants*: the late 420s, if not 423 BCE "in the aftermath of the battle of Delium" (Kovacs 1998, p.3); *Hypsipyle:* "later than 412" (Collard and Cropp 2008, p.254); *Phoenician Women*: 410/09 BCE (Kovacs 2002, p.203).

[23] Sineux 2007, p.19. Sineux sees this as yet another "refreshing" of the age-old tradition, which ultimately sought to heighten Athens' place within the Theban Cycle, and secure the hero Amphiaraos as Athenian "cultural-capital." It is impossible to know whether this degree of attention was also afforded Amphiaraos in Aeschylus' earlier *Eleusinioi*, but slight differences in the tradition by Euripides' time suggest that it certainly did

Let us look at how the tradition surrounding Amphiaraos and the Seven Against Thebes had changed by the last quarter of the fifth century. In the *Suppliants*, Theseus—as king of Athens—grants an Attic burial to the soldiers and leaders who died in the expedition against Thebes. In its entirety the play gives off a strong anti-Theban sentiment and intimates allegiance with Argos, and scholars do not hesitate to call attention to the Athenian-Theban confrontation at Delion in 424 BCE, a catastrophic Athenian defeat just one year prior to the play's performance, and not long before Athens' alliance with Argos.[24] The engagement at Delion even seemed to involve a dispute over the retrieval of Athenian war dead, according to Thucydides.[25] In the *Suppliants*, Euripides breaks from Aeschylus in assigning an even larger role to Theseus and the people of Athens: following the tradition known to Herodotus, Euripides puts Theseus at the head of a large Athenian army, dispatched to fight the Thebans for the return of the Argive war dead.[26] Thanks to Theseus, the democratic king *par excellence*, the bodies of the fallen Argive soldiers are buried near the Attic border at Eleutherai (l.758), while the seven leaders were given burial rites at Eleusis. There, Adrastos and Theseus perform eulogies and the bodies of the leaders are cremated; the warrior's ashes are then returned to the chorus of hysterical Argive women.

Sineux observes that, Amphiaraos occupies a place apart from the other leaders in the *Suppliants*; rather than Adrastos, it is Theseus himself who gives the eulogy for Amphiaraos, praising as exceptional the seer's (spared) fate, and emphasizing the disappearance of Amphiaraos' body into the depths of the earth.[27] Theseus' oration, given on behalf of Athens, breaks with Pindar's *Olympian* 6, where it is Adrastos who pays tribute

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not need to (the major one being Athens' dispatching of an army to obtain the Argive war dead in the account of Euripides and Herodotus.)

[24] Sineux 2007, pp. 17-58 and *passim*.

[25] Thuc. 4.96-101.

[26] Theseus: "I will go and persuade the Thebans to release the corpses of the fallen men. First, I will try using words but if words fail to persuade them, then I will use force. The gods will not go against us for such a purpose." (ll.345-50).

[27] Eur. *Supp*. 926-927. See too Storey 2008; Mendelsohn 2002, pp.135-223.

to the vanished seer.[28] It is this "interruption" by Theseus that calls attention to Amphiaraos, and emphasizes his disappearance as a divine distinction; while giving Athens a claim to the bodies of the mythical Argive dead more broadly, it also underscores the fact that Amphiaraos' body *never* graced the Theban battlefield to begin with, thereby invalidating possible Theban claims to the hero's body (and perhaps cult?). In this context, the near-contemporary emergence of the cult of Amphiaraos in Athenian-held Oropos can also be seen as participating in this "adjustment" of the tradition surrounding the Seven Against Thebes; like the *Suppliants*, the new healing cult also gives Athens a place in the destiny of Amphiaraos himself, the expedition's most valiant hero. This is discussed in greater detail in section 3.5 below. The military engagement, a "just war" led by Athens to retrieve the Argive war dead (ll.531-40), gave Athens a broader place within the epic tradition and perhaps a specific claim to Amphiaraos (by way of his new shrine); the play's performance also came at a time in which Athens and Thebes were engaged in war along the Attic-Boiotia border, in and near the town of Oropos.[29] I conclude with the eloquent words of Sineux (italics my own):

> "Il s'agit alors plutôt de s'arrêter un instant sur la manière dont s'est opérée, dans le contexte historique de l'Athènes triomphante du Ve siècle et du théâtre dans la cité, *l'actualisation de cette figure* [i.e., Amphiaraos]. De ce point de vue, si l'ensemble des récits auxquels appartient Amphiaraos se situe au croisement de légendes thébaines et argiennes, il y eut bien un moment, *dans le courant du Ve siècle, où l'on vit apparaître les Athéniens et où l'on vit Thésée se mêler de l'épilogue de l'expedition des Sept contre Thèbes*."
>
> Sineux 2007, pp.19-20[30]

[28] Pind. *Ol*. 6.12-16, see above.

[29] In fact, Thucydides notes that some of the Athenian dead who had fallen in the battle of Delion in 424 lay in the territory of Oropos (Thuc. 4.99). Athens also seems to have had a problem in initially procuring the bodies of their fallen war dead: see Thuc. 4.96-101.

[30] One quibble that I have with Sineux's work is the degree of innovation that he assigns to Euripides' reshuffling of the myth, while hardly mentioning Aeschylus' *Eleusinioi*, from which it surely pulled in large part. Sineux mentions Aeschylus' *Eleusinioi* but once, on p.94, where he says only that within this earlier work the Argive bodies were returned amiably, and not by war. He rightfully mentions the tradition preserved in Herodotus 9.27, which most closely coheres with Euripides' storyline, but with such brevity that Euripides comes across as the primary mastermind, when in actuality it seems that he was presenting a tradition already known and popular within Athens.

Thus, throughout the first 300 years of Greek literature a relatively consistent image of Amphiaraos emerges from the literary sources; this despite the fact that the tradition surrounding the *Seven Against Thebes* undergoes major changes over time. Amphiaraos was recognized first and foremost for his oracular abilities: born from a lineage of renowned Argive seers that included Melampous, Amphiaraos too was an established seer. Whereas the Amphiaraos of the *Odyssey* died fighting at Thebes, later traditions deny his death on the battlefield, describing him instead as swallowed up within the earth; this comes to be seen as a mark of distinction, and later forms a crucial step in his *apotheosis*. Finally, Amphiaraos' epic exploits concern the cities of Argos and Thebes; entirely absent are mythological references to Athens—until fifth century Attic tragedy, when we see a deliberate reworking of the mythological tradition. In all of these sources, however, Amphiaraos is consistently portrayed as a seer and a warrior; nowhere within the mythological tradition is he a healing figure.

3.1.2 Amphiaraos in Cult

Now that Amphiaraos' identity has been established in literature, we turn to the figure of Amphiaraos in cult.[31] The earliest evidence for any sort of cult activity in literature comes from Herodotus. Writing around 430-20 BCE, Herodotus describes an Archaic oracle of Amphiaraos, the prestige of which rivaled those of Apollo at Delphi and Didyma, along with that of Zeus at Dodona.[32] If Herodotus is taken at face value, then the oracular cult of Amphiaraos existed in or near Thebes by the mid sixth century BCE. In a well-known anecdote concerning Kroisos, the megalomaniacal king of Lydia, Herodotus writes:

[31] A helpful, if slightly outdated, summary of sources is presented in Bearzot 1987, pp.80-99; I find her conclusions problematic, however, and discuss them below.
[32] Hdt.1.46.

> "And so, having thus decided, [Kroisos] at once made inquiries of the Greek and Libyan oracles, sending messengers separately to Delphi, to Abai in Phokis, and to Dodona, while others were dispatched to Amphiaraos and Trophonios, and others to Brankhidai in the Milesian territory. These are the Greek oracles to which Kroisos sent for oracles: and he told others to go inquire of Ammon in Libya." Hdt. 1.46

This passage shows that there was an actual site—an oracular shrine of Amphiaraos—to which the Lydian messengers were dispatched. This first envoy, which spanned most of the known world, was a "test run," so to speak, intended to appraise the seven oracles named above. Kroisos wanted to ensure legitimacy before asking a second more important question concerning Persia. As only a rich foreign king would dare to do, Kroisos prepared his investigation:

> "His purpose in sending [messengers] was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they were found to know true things, he might again send and ask if he should undertake an expedition against the Persians." Hdt. 1.46

As the story goes, on a given day Kroisos' messengers were to ask of all the oracles what it was that he, Kroisos, was doing at the moment; unbeknownst to all, the Lydian king then cut up a tortoise and a lamb and boiled them together in a bronze cauldron with a bronze lid (Hdt. 1.48). Only two oracles properly "saw" this bizarre activity: the oracle of Apollo at Delphi and the oracle of Amphiaraos. The anecdote serves to show that, within the oracular realm, Amphiaraos was as skilled in prophecy as Kroisos was utterly insane. Herodotus writes that:

> "As for the reply which the Lydians received from Amphiaraos when they had done the customary things of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, except that Kroisos believed that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer." Hdt. 1.49

Embedded in the above passage is a nugget that, when isolated and examined, is of interest to this study. Herodotus writes that the messengers received a reply from the oracle once they had performed "the customary things of the temple" (Hdt. 1.49). Though Herodotus was too preoccupied with the oracular response to have elaborated on these customs, he suggests that visitors underwent a regime of customary rituals in order to procure an oracle. After receiving an oracle, dedications were then offered in gratitude for divine assistance:

> "To Amphiaraos, the story of whose valor and suffering he knew, [Kroisos] dedicated a shield made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike. The shield and spear were at Thebes in my day, in the temple of Ismenian Apollo." Hdt. 1.52

Even the barbarian king of Lydia knew of Amphiaraos' valor and fate in the expedition against Thebes; Kroisos then dedicated a golden shield and spear to Amphiaraos after obtaining a verifiably accurate oracle from his shrine. Herodotus references both Thebes and the temple of Ismenian Apollo, which housed Kroisos' dedications in Herodotus' own day. Furthermore, one of the most famous prophecies in history was given to Kroisos "*by each of the two oracles*: namely, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire" (Hdt. 1.51). In terms of potency, this anecdote puts the oracle of Amphiaraos in the same arena as that of Apollo at Delphi. Clearly Amphiaraos was believed to be quite powerful in the oracular realm. It follows that the early oracular shrine, one of only two "true places of divination among men" was located in or near Thebes, the very place where Amphiaraos was swallowed under the earth in the mythological tradition (Hdt. 1.51).

As happens not infrequently to the anecdote-loving Herodotus, modern scholarship is quick to doubt the truth behind his narratives. Can we responsibly argue, in other words,

for an Archaic Amphiareion on the basis of Herodotus' "stories"? For example, that expert on all cults Boiotian, Albert Schachter, questioned whether "the story of Kroisos' dedication to Amphiaraos was invented by Herodotus' Theban hosts."[33] Remarkably, new evidence has surfaced that directly involves the Archaic oracle of Amphiaraos and verifies Herodotus' account of Kroisos' dedications. Rescue excavations in Thebes recovered an unfluted column drum twice inscribed with the same epigram;[34] the inscriptions bear witness to Kroisos' dedications to Amphiaraos, and also seem to confirm the existence of an Archaic oracular sanctuary of Amphiaraios at or near Thebes. The earlier of the two metrical inscriptions dates to the late sixth century, c. 500 BCE; the *stele* itself bears two versions of the same narrative, which allows for the filling in of lacunae from one text with that of the other. This epigraphic puzzle was ingeniously solved by Nikolaos Papazarkadas, and published in 2014 as follows:[35]

σοὶ] χάριν ἐνθάδ᾽, Ἄπολο[ν, – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – x

κὲ]πιστὰς ἱαρὸ στᾶσε κατ[ευχσά]μενος

μα]ντοσύναις εὑρὸν hυπὸ TA[….]OIO φαενὰν

ἀσπ]ίδα τὰγ ϙροῖσος κα[λϝ]ὸν ἄγαλ[μα θέτο?

Ἀμ]φιαρέοι μνᾶμ᾽ ἀρετ[ᾶς τε πάθας τε ⏑ – x

. .]μεν ἃ ἐκλέφθε ΦΟ[⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ x

Θε]βαίοισι δὲ θάμβος E[– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – x

. .]πιδα δαιμονίος ΔE[⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ x[36]

[33] Schachter 1981, p.21 n. 4.

[34] Now stored in the Thebes Museum, inv. no. 40993.

[35] Papazarkadas 2014, pp. 233-51, Figs. 3-7. Two versions of the same text are inscribed upon the column drum, but in different alphabets; a version of the Boeotian script runs along the axis of the column, whereas the Ionic text is inscribed on the other side of the drum, perpendicular to the vertical axis of the stone. Papazarkadas believes that the two versions date to very different periods: the Boeotian script to c. 500 BCE, and the Ionic to 375-350 BCE.

[36] Papazarkadas 2014 offers no English translation; I provide a rough translation of the patchy text here: "…for you *charis* here, Apollo, …and the overseer of the sanctuary erected [this inscribed offering?] having made a vow, after finding—by means of prophecies—the shining shield which Kroisos (dedicated?) as beautiful offering to

While intriguing and ultimately enigmatic, the inscription lends remarkable support to Herodotus' account of Kroisos' dedications. In fact, I think it is possible that Herodotus saw this very dedication-*cum*-epigram in the Theban Ismenion; prompted by this votive, perhaps a priest of Apollo Ismenios told Herodotus the tale of the Lydian king. Herodotus then recorded the narrative with the aid of the inscription; this could explain the similarities of the two accounts. The Apollo referenced in l.2 of the inscription was surely Apollo Ismenios, another oracular cult whose temple capped the Theban Kadmeion; as discussed above, Herodotus notes that Kroisos' dedications were indeed housed in the Theban Ismenion in his own day. This inscription mentions the very shield that Kroisos dedicated to Amphiaraos, here poetically called a φαενὰν ἀσπίδα, which was probably kept in the temple to Apollo Ismenios judging from the stone's findspot. Herodotus is yet again vindicated, his naysayers silenced..![37] Especially in light of this new inscription, I see no reason to doubt Herodotus with regard to the Archaic oracle of Amphiaraos; we should believe him when he describes a renowned Archaic oracle—utilized and revered by Kroisos himself—which by Herodotus' own time had fallen into desuetude, with its most valuable dedications moved to the Theban Ismenion. This chance find, and its publication by Papazarkadas in 2014, shows how new material evidence can change and enhance our understanding of the cult of Amphiaraos.

Returning to *The Histories*, Herodotus shares another remarkable story concerning the oracle of Amphiaraos; this second account dates to the Persian invasion of Greece, c. 479 BCE. From Thessaly, the Persian general Mardonios dispatched a Karian man named Mys to

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Amphiaraos, a memorial to his virtue [and suffering?] . . . the things which were stolen . . . and a wonder to the Thebans . . . [the shield?] marvelous . . ."

[37] cf. Pritchett 1993 on the so-called "liar school" of Herodotus.

obtain an oracle on his behalf; again the agent is dispatched not to one but several oracles, including that of Amphiaraos in or near Thebes:

> "Mardonios wintered in Thessaly. Having his headquarters there he sent a man of Europos by the name of Mys to visit the places of divination (τὰ χρηστήρια), charging him to inquire of all the oracles that he could make a trial of (ἀποπειρήσασθαι). What it was that he desired to learn from the oracles when he gave this order, I cannot say, for no one tells of it. I suppose that he sent to inquire about his present business, and that alone. This man Mys is known to have gone to Lebadea and to have bribed a man of the country to go down into the cave of Trophonios, and to have gone to the place of divination at Abai in Phokis. He went first to Thebes, where he inquired of Ismenian Apollo (sacrifice is there the way of divination, as at Olympia), **and moreover he bribed one who was no Theban but a foreigner to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiaraos. No Theban may seek a prophecy there, for Amphiaraos bade them by an oracle to choose which of the two they wanted and to forego the other, and take him either for their prophet or for their ally. They chose that he should be their ally. Therefore no Theban may lie down to sleep in that place.** Hdt. 8.133-134

Notable for several reasons, this passage reveals that it was customary for visitors to "lie down to sleep" in the precinct of Amphiaraos in order to procure an oracle (τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνον τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω). In other words, Amphiaraos' cult hinged upon oneiromancy and ritualized incubation in the delivering of oracles. By simplest definition, incubation consisted of a ritualized sleep within the confines of the sanctuary, with the larger goal of affording a dream-like encounter between the worshipper and Amphiaraos (quite literally, an "epiphany"). The dream itself could deliver the oracle, or the dream could provide material for interpretation by the cult's priests; after deciphering the dream, the priest(s) of Amphiaraos would then deliver the oracle to the visitor. This was in contrast to the method of divination at Lebadeia, for example, where those seeking an oracle descended underground into the cave of Trophonios, or at the far less harrowing Theban Ismenion, where worshippers procured oracles through the rite of

sacrifice.[38] With emphasis obviously my own, the emboldened lines concern the Thebans either being allowed to use the oracle of Amphiaraos, or to have Amphiaraos as their ally, but they could not use the oracle themselves;[39] this clearly betrays an idiosyncratic cultic tradition within the Theban sanctuary. Thebe's decision to have Amphiaraos as an ally presumably meant that he was no longer seen as a hostile force toward the city, but it also led to a strange cultic restriction in which Thebans were not allowed to consult an oracle in their own territory.

A much later version of this tradition appears in Plutarch; born in Boiotia and a priest himself, Plutarch likely had access to sources other than Herodotus in composing his narrative, and discusses this peculiar oracle himself:

> "Mardonios was killed by a man of Sparta named Arimnestos, who crushed his head with a stone, just as was foretold to him by the oracle in the shrine of Amphiaraos. There he had sent a Lydian man, and also a Karian to the oracle of Trophonios. At this latter site the prophet prophesized in the Karian tongue; but the Lydian, on lying down in the enclosure of Amphiaraos (ἐν τῷ σηκῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω κατευνασθείς), dreamed that an attendant of the god stood by his side and bade him be gone, and on his refusal, hurled a great stone upon his head, so that he died from the blow (so ran the man's dream). These things are so reported."
>
> Plut. *Arist.* 19.1-2

Plutarch's passage also makes explicit the workings of Amphiaraos' oracle: prophecies were delivered during incubation, when visitors would lie down to sleep (κατευνασθείς) within the sacred precinct. Dreams were the conduit through which the divine prophecy was delivered, and the "interpretation" of the oracle was obvious enough, at least to Mardonios in hindsight.

Of interest in both passages are the prohibitions on Theban-use of the oracular shrine. As noted above, because the Thebans chose to have Amphiaraos as an ally, they were

[38] Hdt. 8.134.
[39] cf. Amphiaraos' relationship to Thebes from the plot of the *Seven*—far from an ally!

accordingly *excluded* from consulting him as an oracle according to Herodotus; Plutarch is sure to clarify that a Lydian, not a Theban, accessed the oracle of Amphiaraos on Mardonios' behalf. It is unclear what, exactly, to make of this other than that it possibly stems from the hostile relationship between Thebes and Amphiaraos (as one of the Seven Against Thebes) in the epic tradition. The passage in Herodotus reveals the oracle of Amphiaraos at Thebes to have played an ambivalent role within the city's cultic landscape: on the one hand, an enemy who became identified with Theban soil as a chthonic hero and "ally," but on the other, a foreign if not hostile presence, presiding over a cult inaccessible to native Thebans and, more broadly, one un-integrated within the cults of the Theban polis. Perhaps these factors ultimately contributed to the sanctuary's decline, which was complete by Herodotus' own day.[40]

The location of Amphiaraos' oracle is unknown, other than that it stood in the vicinity of Thebes; from the accounts of Herodotus, Strabo, and Pausanias, it seems likely that the cult stood at some distance from the city walls.[41] Strabo writes that an oracular temple to Amphiaraos stood at the site of "Harma", near Mykalessos, where Amphiaraos' chariot was swallowed-up beneath the earth.[42] Pausanias describes a Boiotian precinct to Amphiaraos on the road leading from Potniai to Thebes; the shrine was grim, if not haunted.

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[40] See Bearzot 1987, pp. 89-93; Parker 1996, pp. 142-151.

[41] As noted by Hubbard, the above Herodotus passage cannot be understood in any way other than that the oracle of Amphiaraos was located in Thebes: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο precedes a *men*-clause (in which Mys consults Ismenian Apollo) and a *de*-clause (where Mys finds a non-Theban to perform the incubation ritual in order to obtain the oracle); as both the *men*- and *de*-clauses are subordinate to the words announcing Mys' arrival in Thebes, they should refer to actions set in Thebes (rather than at Abai or Lebadeia, mentioned earlier in the sentence). Plutarch makes it even clearer that the oracle of Amphiaraos, which Mys consulted, was located in Boiotia and fell into disuse soon after the Persian Wars (*De Defect.*411-412b), and surely as a priest of Apollo at Delphi Plutarch was familiar with such histories. That Plutarch relates the tale of Mys with non-Herodotean details suggests that he had access to sources other than Herodotus (so too in *Arist.* 19.1-2). On all of this, see Flacelière 1946, pp.203-207 and Hubbard 1992 pp.101-107.

[42] Strab. 9.2.11, cf. Paus. 9. 14. 4. The village of Harma ("Chariot") was located c.100 stades northeast of Thebes (Paus. 1.34.2, 9.19.4), and possibly rivaled other sites for its claim to Amphiaraos; Paus. 9.19.4 notes that these claims were supported by Tanagra, the major rival to Thebes as the leading city of the Boiotian League after the battle of Plateia.

In addition to being a prophet and healer, Amphiaraos was also revered as a dread sort of hero, one to be appeased rather that adored:

> "On the way from Potniai to Thebes [in Boiotia] there is on the right of the road a small enclosure with pillars in it. Here they think the earth opened to receive Amphiaraos, and they add further that neither do birds sit upon these pillars, nor will a beast, tame or wild, feed on the grass that grows here." Paus. 9. 8. 3

Another tradition reported by Strabo mentions an oracle of Amphiaraos at a Theban site called Knopia, which was later "transferred" to Oropos.[43] Hubbard locates the Archaic oracle at Knopia, and writes "[o]ne can well imagine the oracle of Amphiaraus at Cnopia declining after the Persian War, in virtue of its total lack of dependence on foreign customers and the reluctance of other Greek states to patronize a Theban oracle during this period [with the Thebans only recently having "Medized," that is]; the cult's marginal position within the Theban establishment made this development inevitable, and its later obscurity is no surprise."[44] The town of Knopia was in Theban territory, but just where is unclear.[45] It seems possible that by the Roman period there was more than one Boiotian shrine associated with Amphiaraos; yet all were situated in proximity to Thebes.[46]

I pause for a moment to review the evidence; from the beginnings of Greek literature, Amphiaraos appears as an oracular figure in the works of Homer and throughout the Theban Cycle. Even in the tradition captured in Euripides' *Suppliants*, where a place is

[43] Strabo 9.2.10; possibly this is the same site that lies on the road from Potniai to Thebes, as per Paus.9.8.3.
[44] Hubbard 1992, p.104. He later argues against the concept of a cult transfer, suggesting that Strabo's claim was derived from priests at Oropos; the claim was a fourth century retrojection created during a period of Theban control of Oropos (he suggests 402-386, or 366-338 BCE), "effectively reconciling the cult at Oropos with the then defunct oracle at Theban Cnopia and imposing upon the flourishing Oropian cult a Theban pedigree and identity which it did not originally have" (p.106). In other words, Hubbard believes that the Archaic oracular sanctuary of Amphiaraos existed at Theban Knopia, but does not believe that the Oropian cult derived (via a cult transfer) from the Knopian one.
[45] Strabo 9.2.10. The Scholiast on Nikander (Ther.889) notes that Knopia was on the Ismenus River; Buck (1979, p.14) notes that there is little reason to associate it with the ancient site near Syrtzi on Mt. Hypatos (as had been suggested), and after evaluating several other topographic sites concludes that its location is entirely unknown.
[46] Hubbard suggests that, during a time in which the oracle of Amphiaraos at Thebes was in decline after the Persian War, Pindar found it appropriate to insist upon Amphiaraos' identity as a chthonic hero belonging to Theban soil (p.107). He suggests that Pindar saw the oracle of Amphiaraos at Thebes as "under challenge from the newly emerging cult at Oropos," but notes that even if the Oropian cult did not date that early, the Theban oracle was still in decline in Pindar's own time.

carved out for Athens within the Seven Against Thebes myth, Amphiaraos maintains his identity as a seer. The same seems to have applied in early cult, where Amphiaraos presided over an oracular shrine in the vicinity of Thebes. By the time of Kroisos c.550 BCE, the precinct was well known for its accurate prophecies, which we know continued down through the period of the Persian Wars on account of Mys' visit in 479 BCE. Yet by the time of Herodotus, the sanctuary had apparently fallen into disuse. Amphiaraos emerges in both myth and cult as an oracular hero, whose worship accorded closely with his oracular identity in epic and later poetry of the Classical period.

It comes as a surprise, then, and seems to break with tradition, that in the year 414 BCE Amphiaraos appears in connection with a *healing cult,* as revealed by a fragmentary comedy of Aristophanes performed in the year 414 BCE; by this year the Amphiareion must have been familiar enough to the Athenian public to hold topical relevance in the theater.[47] Despite the relatively few years separating Herodotus' *Histories* from the *Amphiaraos*, Aristophanes' comedy reveals a very different hero than that of the previous three centuries. Performed at the Lenaia in 414 BCE, Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos* features a man and his wife on their visit to the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos. Though patchy, the fragments reveal the main characters to undergo incubation at the site, and also show that Amphiaraos functioned as a healer within the sanctuary by this time.[48] The play paints a partial picture of the goings-on within the cult: visitors came to the site with their own bedding, upon which they undertook the ritualized sleep, "by Zeus, fetch us out of the bedroom a cushion and pillow, the linen type!"; food offerings were also carried into the sanctuary in baskets.[49] Additionally, the text shows that snakes were present within the

[47] See *Hyp. Aves* 2.24 f., which states that the *Amphiaraos* was produced at the Lenaia festival in the same year as the *Birds*; Henderson 2007, p.119.
[48] Ar. *Amph.* Frs. 18, 20; Trans. Henderson.
[49] Ar. *Amph.* Fr. 18, Fr. 28; Trans. Henderson.

precinct.[50] Perhaps of the greatest interest, the fragments reveal that Iaso, the personification of remedy, cure, and recuperation, was linked with Amphiaraos in the cult; a scholion on Aristophanes' *Ploutos* notes "Iaso, named for her healing function, served Asklepios, but Aristophanes called her also the daughter of Amphiaraos in those lines: 'but, my daughter Iaso, I spoke propitiously'" (Trans. Henderson).[51]

What is going on here, exactly? Aristophanes' play reveals the existence of an incubation shrine to Amphiaraos that was functioning—at least in part—as a healing cult by the late fifth century. Scholars agree that this is a reference to the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos, which emerges in the archaeological record at this same time.[52] What is striking about Amphiaraos' incubation-shrine at Oropos is that it functioned as a healing cult; Amphiaraos appears not alongside Polyneikes, Kapaneos, or other Argive combatants, but rather beside Hygieia and Iaso, as discussed in greater detail below. The sanctuary at Oropos thus presents a restructuring of Amphiaraos' cultic identity as a seer and a warrior; as in the *Suppliants* of Euripides, there seems to have been an Athenian reworking of the tradition in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, which resulted in Amphiaraos receiving cult as a healing hero on the Attic frontier. This was happening during the same period in which the healing cults of Asklepios were taking root across the Athenian *polis*.

And so the plot thickens. It seems that prior to 414 BCE a new cult of Amphiaraos was introduced to Oropos, an Athenian-controlled town on the border with Boiotia. Athens' grip on this region was slipping, and the Oropian cult first appears in both archaeological and literary sources when the healing cults of Asklepios were taking root across Attica (as discussed in Part II). The remainder of this section looks more closely at Amphiaraos' cult at Oropos, ultimately seeking an explanation for *why* and *how* an Argive seer and warrior came

[50] Ar. *Amph.* Frs. 28, 33a, 33b; Trans. Henderson.
[51] Ar. *Amph.* Fr. 21 Henderson (2007, p.123): Schol. ad Ar. *Ploutos* 701.
[52] Petrakos 1968; Sineux 2007; Parker 1996, pp. 146-7; Henderson 2007, p.119.

to preside over a healing cult in northeastern Attica. We begin with a discussion of the frontier region of Oropos, in order to contextualize Amphiaraos' healing sanctuary within the larger physical and political landscapes to which it belonged.

3.2: Oropos and the Oropia

The healing sanctuary of Amphiaraos was situated in Oropos, a town located approximately 50 km north of Athens on the southern Euboean Gulf (Fig. 41). Oropos contained an excellent natural harbor; it was directly across the channel from the Euboian city of Eretria, and was the closest crossing point to that city from the Greek mainland. The greater *chora* with which the concentrated settlement at Oropos was inextricably bound was known as the *Oropia*. Comprised of core and periphery, the Oropia extended from Delesi in the west to modern Agioi Apostoloi in the east, and Mt. Beletsi in the south (Fig. 42).[53] In terms of landscape geography, the Oropia is considered an eastern continuation of Boiotia, from which it was easily accessible across the large, fertile plain of Oropos.[54] The Parnes and Mavronoro mountains divided the Oropia from Attica to the south. This geographic impediment was offset by three major ancient roads that connected Oropos with Athens: the first led from Rhamnous to Oropos by way of Kalamos (the route taken by Pausanias), the second led from Athens to Aphidna by way of a pass between Mounts Mavronoro and Beletsi, and the third went north from the plain of Athens through the narrow Klidhi pass, descending through the foothills of Mt. Parnes to the west of Mt. Beletsi, before running north to Oropos.[55] The third course was the most direct, and ran 48 km from Oropos to Athens by way of Dekeleia; this was the main route used for transporting grain overland

[53] Cosmopoulos 2001, p.6.
[54] The so-called "plain of Oropos," Cosmopoulos 2001, p.6.
[55] Fachard & Pirisino 2015; Cosmopoulos 2001, p.6-8

from Euboea to central Athens in the mid fifth century, and as a major access route was even used by the "most heavily encumbered armies."[56]

Modern interest in Oropos and the sanctuary of Amphiaraos began with the early travelers. Jacob Spon and George Wheler first sought to identify ancient Oropos during their travels through Boeotia in 1675;[57] like many who followed in their footsteps, they identified ancient Oropos with the modern inland town of that same name, assuming the modern title to represent a survival of the ancient toponym. In actuality, ancient Oropos lies underneath modern Skala Oropou; the modern town of "Oropos" was a later, medieval foundation.[58] William Leake in 1806 noted that ancient Oropos should be located on the coast, as suggested by the ancient sources, but still identified the city with the modern inland town carrying that same name in his travels through the region. He visited the Amphiareion, and described his route from the shrine to the modern town of Skala Oropou.[59] Despite Leake's identification, the location of the sanctuary remained contested: Finlay located it east of Oropos, while Hanriot situated the sanctuary near the modern village of Markopoulo.[60] Of all the early travelers, the writings of Heinrich Ulrichs prove the most thorough; he described in detail several visits to Boiotia, including the sanctuary of Amphiaraos between 1837 and 1842.[61] After continued debate in the second half of the nineteenth century, the discovery and publication of inscriptions from the sanctuary, including a fourth century boundary stone from the Amphiareion, settled the issue of the sanctuary's location once and for all.[62]

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[56] Ober 1985, p.115. See more recently: Fachard & Pirisino 2015; Cosmopoulos 2001, p.6. On the overland grain route: Thuc. 7.28.1.
[57] Spon 1678, p.317-19; Wheler 1682, p.455-56.
[58] Cosmopoulos 2001, p.17.
[59] Leake 1835 vol. II, pp.438-443.
[60] In a location called Πηγάδι Αράπη; Finlay 1838a-b; Hanriot 1853, pp.130-144.
[61] Urichs 1863, pp.55-67. Roller 1989, p.130.
[62] *IG* VII 422; Petrakos 1968, pp. 61-2.

Systematic excavations of the sanctuary of Amphiaraos were conducted by Spyridon Phintikles and Vassileios Leonardos of the Athens Archaeological Society, with the help of Wilhelm Dörpfeld, in 1884. Lasting (intermittently) until 1929, these excavations unearthed the temple, altar, theater, stoa, baths, and structures on the east bank of the stream; results were published in a barrage of frustratingly short reports in *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (ΠΑΕ), Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς (*AE)*, *Archäologischen Anzeiger* (*AA), Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (AM),* and *Bulletin de Corréspondence Hellènique (BCH)*.[63] Since 1929, work at the sanctuary has mostly been epigraphic in nature; most significant was that done by Bassileios Petrakos, whose efforts to clarify and collate the Amphiareion's archaeological and epigraphic records remain unparalleled.[64] He published the most detailed and comprehensive study of the sanctuary in 1968, *Ὁ Ὠροπὸς καὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου*. In 1997, Petrakos synthesized the Amphiareion's numerous inscriptions into a single volume, *Οι Επιγραφές του Ωρωπού*. Both of Petrakos' works are essential for understanding Amphiaraos' cult at Oropos.

More recent excavations have uncovered information about the ancient city of Oropos, to which the sanctuary was tied. Over the years, finds emerged haphazardly from modern houses in Skala Oropou; it was long known that an ancient settlement lay beneath the modern one, and this proved to be ancient site of Oropos. Large-scale salvage excavations were conducted in modern Skala Oropou beginning in 1985 by the Greek Archaeological Service, under the direction of Aliki Dragona; work in the region was halted

[63] Excavation reports in *ΠΑΕ*: 1884, pp. 88-93; 1886, pp. 51-56; 1887, pp. 59-63; 1890, pp. 31-33; 1903, pp. 33-35; 1904, pp. 27-28; 1906, pp. 83-85; 1907, pp. 119-120; 1913, pp. 113-116; 1916, pp. 65-67; 1921, pp. 30-31; 1922/23, pp. 48-49; 1924, pp. 96-101; 1925, pp.33-35; 1926, pp.103-108; 1927, pp.27-32; 1928, pp.41-45; 1929, pp.57-60. *AE*: 1913, p.237; 1916, pp. 118-121; 1917, pp. 239-242; 1918, pp. 110-113; 1919, pp. 99-102; 1922, pp.101-111; 1923, pp.166-169. *AA*: 1914, p.122; 1922, pp.264-267; 1925, p.314; 1926, p.405; 1927, p.350. *AM*: XI (1886), p.329; XXVIII (1903), pp.26-28. *BCH* VI (1891), p.649; XLIV (1920), pp.381-382; XLV (1921), pp.503-504; XLVI (1922), p.491; XLVII (1923), p.510; XLVIII (1924), pp.459-460; XLIX (1925), p.455; L (1926), p.554; LI (1927), p.472; LII (1928), p.470; LIII (1929), p.497; LXXVII (1953), p.205.

[64] Before Petrakos, epigraphic work was also done by Alexandros Philadelpheos and Markellos Mitsos; see Petrakos 1968 and 1997.

in 1987 following the premature death of the excavator.[65] Newer, more systematic excavations were resumed from 1996 onwards under the auspices of the Archaeological Society at Athens, with Alexander Mazarakis Ainian directing. Based in the western end of the town, these efforts uncovered an expansive Iron Age settlement, with earlier traces of Middle Helladic and Mycenaean communities.[66] They show how the region that came to host the Amphiareion developed into a community, with the earliest ties not to Athens or Thebes, but to Euboia across the channel. In addition to the ongoing work of Mazarakis Ainian at Skala Oropou, the Oropos Survey Project has revealed much about the region's settlement history;[67] the sanctuary of Amphiaraos was but part of a multivalent cultural landscape. Under the direction of Michael Cosmopoulos, the six-year intensive survey covered some 22 km^2 of the Oropia; it examined rural responses to political and cultic socioeconomic systems, with respect to the territory of Oropos and its regional sanctuary.[68] In addition to situating the Amphiareion within the landscape in which it was embedded, the Oropos Survey Project revealed how a sanctuary could change regional settlement patterns, as well as land use and rural, "extra-urban" habitation.

3.3 Historical Overview: Oropos and the Amphiareion

Now that the location, discovery, and excavation history of the Amphiareion have been discussed, we turn to the larger regional histories in which the sanctuary participated in antiquity. This section aims to synthesize and highlight the major historical developments of the Oropia region, and to create a framework through which fluctuations in

[65] Mazarakis Ainian 2007, p.22-23.
[66] Mazarakis Ainian and Mouliou 2008, p.17, Mazarakis Ainian 2007.
[67] Cosmopoulos 2002, pp. 38-56.
[68] Cosmopoulos 2002 *passim*.

administrative hegemony can be traced; the result is a history of the sanctuary and the greater region of Oropos, from its discernable beginnings through the end of the Classical period. The fate of the extra-urban sanctuary of Amphiaraos is tied to the city of Oropos; a history of Oropos thus affords an understanding of the sanctuary's administrative body and management. Whereas the Athenian healing sanctuaries examined thus far have been securely "Athenian"—situated well within the confines of Attica—the early history of Oropos is quite separate from that of Athens; its regional development is far more complicated. In order to explore the healing sanctuary of Amphiaraos—and questions of agency with regard to the cult's foundation—it is necessary to first sort through the histories of the community in which the shrine developed. During the Classical period, there were three periods in which Athenian influence was particularly strong at Oropos: from the mid-fifth century until 411 BCE, from 378/7 through 366 BCE in the period of the "Second Athenian Confederacy", and from 335 until 322 BCE during the Lykourgan age. These periods are crucial for understanding how Athenians incorporated the Oropia and its sanctuary into the sphere of Attic influence—politically, militarily, and religiously.

This section ultimately concludes that the territory of Oropos was controlled by Athens during the time in which the cult of Amphiaraos was founded, sometime prior to 414 BCE. With regard to Athens' fifth century control of Oropos, this section also reveals (1) Oropos' strategic importance as a base for military operations for both the infantry and navy, (2) that the Oropia served as a node of transit and communication from the Attic mainland to Athenian kleruchies on Euboea, (3) that it was vital for the importation of grain from Euboea to Attica proper, and (4) that prior to 414 BCE, the Oropia contained Athenian-held estates, at least some of which were agricultural in nature. Lastly, it seems that Athens controlled the Oropia during the Classical period with administrative-mechanisms similar to those employed in her kleruchies.

The chronology of the Oropia is predictably murky and tentative during its earliest years, but the haze dissipates as sources increase by the mid fourth century, especially with respect to Attic oratory and inscriptions from the Lykourgan period. I provide an overview of the site's pre-Hellenistic history as it is known from literary, epigraphic, and material sources. As the majority of these sources are Athenian, the site will inevitably be presented from an etic perspective; surely if Oropian—or even Eretrian or Theban—historiographic traditions survived, the picture would be different, with Oropos telling a more emic story of its own development. Yet an Oropian version would still likely be one of a constant, Plataia-like struggle, in which a small strategic territory—wedged between powerful, antagonistic neighbors—was often made a regional pawn in the larger political landscape.[69] In addition to presenting a history of the region through the Classical period, this section engages larger questions of how Athens sought to control borders and contiguous buffer zones during periods of internecine conflict; it emerges that sanctuaries were among the most precious spoils of war, and could be manipulated toward political ends by the ruling hegemon, especially to secure strategic territories. The emerging diachronic picture is one of a liminal region, sometimes part of Euboea, sometimes part of Attica, sometimes part of Boiotia, and sometimes independent. I hope that this effort, in addition to clarifying the history of the Amphiareion during the Classical period, can indirectly shed light on Oropos as a strategically important but little studied corner of the Greek social and political landscape.

3.3.1 Pre-Classical Oropos

Oropos has a long pre-Athenian history that begins in the Mycenaean period; during the early Iron Age ties then form with Euboia across the Gulf. The concentration of Early Helladic II sites on the Oropian coastal plain suggests that the region was important for

[69] For Plataia's troubled history during the Classical period, wedged as it was between Athens and Thebes and often affected by their greater disputes, see Konecny 1999; Cartledge 2012.

early trade along the Euboean Gulf.[70] Some scholars identify the pre-Classical settlement of Oropos with Homeric Graia, and remains from the Mycenaean period have indeed been uncovered in the area.[71] This coastal region also hosted a flourishing Iron Age site at modern Skala Oropou, from at least the late tenth century BCE. The sources suggest early Eretrian hegemony for Oropos; Nikokrates noted that Oropos was once dominated by Eretria, while Stephanos of Byzantium claimed that Graia was a πόλις Ἐρετρίας.[72] The earliest ceramics show affinities with contemporary pottery production at Lefkandi, and Mazarakis-Ainian suggests that some inhabitants of Lefkandi helped settle the Oropia during the Late Geometric period.[73] This scenario would be one in which displacement and population growth led the Euboians to create an "outpost" at Oropos, where Euboians from Xeropolis-Lefkandi (displacement) and Eretria (population growth) would have mingled with and absorbed the preexisting "Graians" into the new Oropian settlement.[74] By the later Iron Age, the town maintained close ties with Euboia, if not Eretria more specifically; this is suggested by an eighth century graffito in the epichoric Euboian alphabet, Eretrian linguistic features employed in Classical Oropian inscriptions, "substantial amounts of Orientalia," similarities in architectural forms and urban planning, and ceramics with heavy Euboean stylistic influences.[75] Oropian inscriptions from the fourth century BCE still contain features identical to the west Ionic dialect used at Eretria.[76] All of this is not surprising, given that Oropos sits just across the channel from Eretria on the Greek

[70] As demonstrated by the findings of the Oropos Survey Project: Cosmopoulos 2002, pp. 38-56.
[71] Oropos as Homeric Graia: Hom. *Il.* 2.498; Thuc. 2.23.3 (though this involves emending "Peraike" to "Graike" in the manuscripts; *contra* see Hornblower 1991 *ad* 2.23.3); Strabo 9.404; Mazarakis-Ainian 2007, pp. 27-28. Mycenaean settlements at the site of Sohoria and Old Oropos: Mazarakis Ainian 2007.
[72] sv. Γραῖα, accepting that Graia was indeed pre-Classical Oropos. Nikokrates (*FGrH* 376 F1): Ἐρε]τριέων κτί[σμα εἶναι τὸν Ὠ]ρωπόν. Oropos as Graia: Thuc. 2.23.3, accepting "Graike" as the emended reading of "Peraike" (*ad* 2.23.3: Hornblower 1991, Gomme 1956); Strabo 9.404.
[73] Mazarakis Ainian 2007, p.29
[74] Mazarakis Ainian 2007, p.30
[75] Though a particular alphabet does not necessarily imply language. Knoepfler 1985, p.52; Mazarakis Ainian 2007, p.27 and *passim*; Knoepfler finds Eretrian *rhotakismos* in the inscriptions of Oropos—with *sigma* transforming to *rho* between vowels; he argues that this can even be seen in the name "Oropos" itself, which seems a local variant of the name of the Boeotian river Asopos (Knoepfler 2001, pp.81-98)
[76] *IG* VII 235: εἰρῆται (l.17), ἐντοθα (l.17), δημορίων (l.35); see Davies 1993, pp. 261-79 (esp. pp.273-8).

mainland, and that Eretria (and other Euboian cities) were actively trading and sending out *emporia* and *apoikiai* during this early period. The Iron Age settlement at Skala Oropou was a prosperous one, with Oropian phases of expansion and prosperity paralleling those of Eretria across the channel. Finally, we should remember that throughout this time, the settlement sat on the Euboean gulf as a port community (Figs.41-2); this prime position on a major waterway likely allowed the settlement access to trade networks across the Gulf—if not well beyond—during this early period.

3.3.2 Classical Oropos

A substantial part of the earlier Iron Age community was abandoned toward the end of the Archaic period, and resettled further east.[77] The new Classical city developed along a rectangular plan, and sits beneath the modern towns of Skala Oropou and Nea Palatia, as discussed above; the acropolis of Classical Oropos seems to have been located on Loumperdi hill, some 80 m. above sea level.[78] Prior to Athenian control, Oropos likely retained allegiance to Eretria (with which it shared dialect features), though an imprecise claim in Pausanias does mention that Oropos was ruled by Boiotia: τὴν γῆν τὴν Ὡρωπίαν...Βοιωτίαν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὖσαν (Paus. 1.34.1). Scholars agree, however, that this vague statement by Pausanias must yield to the more secure one of Nikokrates in his *On Boeotia* (*FGrH* 376 F1), which states that Oropos was an Eretrian foundation, as discussed above.[79]

When did the old, prosperous town of Oropos first come under Athenian control? Independent of the eastward shift in settlement, some scholars suggest that the Oropia first

[77] The abandonment of the earlier site is dated roughly to c.500 BCE; the presence of river boulders and layers of gravel over large swaths of the Geometric and Archaic settlement suggest that the river—and resultant flooding—were agents that triggered the settlement's move eastward (Mazarakis Ainian 2002, p. 152). However the Persian invasion of 490 (and also 480) brought ample activity to this area; could they also be agents responsible for the abandonment of the Geometric through Archaic settlements?
[78] Cosmopoulos 2001, p.6, p.58; Mazarakis Ainian 2008, p.17.
[79] Knoepfler 1985, p.50; Parker 1996, p.146.

joined Attic territory in 507/6 BCE, following Athens' victory over the Boeotians and the Chalkidians.[80] On the heels of this major battle, the defeated city of Chalkis had its territory parceled out and redistributed among 4,000 Athenian kleruchs.[81] Petrakos et al. propose that in this same year—not only did the fledgling democracy plant a formidable force of Athenian settlers on Chalkidian estates—but also secured control over the in-between "bridge" region of Oropos.[82] While the occupation of Chalkis *would* suggest the presence of Athenians passing through the Oropia, it takes a leap to claim that Athens had seized control of Oropos, too, at this time. Never do the sources mention an acquisition of Oropos like they do—with pomp and circumstance—for Chalkis, nor was the contiguous territory of Oropos incorporated within the Kleisthenic deme system (though perhaps we should not assume that it would have been, as the victory was two years *after* the initial Kleisthenic partition of Attica in 508/7 BCE).[83] The claim that Oropos came under Athenian control in 506 BCE remains, at best, unsubstantiated by the sources.[84]

In literature, Oropos is first mentioned by Herodotus. He writes that during the first Persian invasion of Greece in 490 BCE, the city of Eretria was targeted by the troops of Mardonios on account of their participation in the Ionian Rebellion (Hdt. 6.100-1). In the face of attack the Eretrians requested help from the Athenians, who agreed to send assistance; the closest source of manpower was just to the north of Eretria, in the Athenian

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[80] Hdt. 5.77; Cosmopoulos 2001, p. 14; Petrakos 1997, p.489; Hubbard 1992, p. 106, esp. n.80; Petrakos 1968, p.21. For an even earlier (and vaguer) suggestion of "c.519", see Moreno 2007, pp.116-7, and especially n. 174, "Given our absolute lack of evidence, the likeliest guess for the date of the first annexation of Oropus by Athens is *c*.519, i.e. coinciding with the Plataean alliance in Thuc. 3.68."

[81] Hdt. 5.77.2; *IG* I^3 501. See too *SEG* LIV:518, an inscribed *kioniskos* found in Thebes, which provides an account of the same battle from a (rare) Theban perspective: Aravantinos 2006, pp.369-377.

[82] Petrakos 1968, pp.21-22; Petrakos 1997, p.489; Cosmopoulos 2001, p. 14.

[83] Furthermore, Salamis and Eleutherai were pre-508/7 BCE Attic possessions never brought into the Kleisthenic deme system. Hdt. 5.77, *IG* I^3 501; cf. *SEG* 54.108.

[84] I mention here the recent discovery of a votive dedicated to an unidentified god, dated to "c.560?" from Skala Oropou: [— — —] Ἀλεχσομενὸς μ' ἀνέθεκεν (*IG* I^3 1475). As this votive was *not* found at the Amphiareion, or indeed anywhere near it, I see no reason to connect this votive with an Archaic Amphiareion. It was discussed above that Oropos, located beneath modern Skala Oropou and at a distance from the Amphiareion, was a thriving town during the Archaic period; it had its own shrines and temples, and this votive can most easily be understood within this context, rather than proposing an Archaic Amphiareion at Oropos in the face of no archaeological remains. See Petrakos *PAE* 1984, pp.313-314; *SEG* 50.487.

kleruchy at Chalkis. Herodotus notes that Athens sent its 4,000 kleruchs to the aid of Eretria, but that in the face of such odds the Athenian kleruchs "saved themselves by crossing over to Oropos," rather than staying in Eretria to defend the doomed city (Hdt. 6.100). Indeed the situation at Eretria was bleak in 490; after six days of fighting, the city was betrayed from the inside: "the Persians entered, and stripped the temples bare and burnt them in revenge for the burnt temples of Sardis and, in accordance with Darius' orders, carried off all the inhabitants as slaves" (Hdt. 6.100). It is possible that Eretria was so enervated by this Persian destruction that it lost whatever control it held over Oropos, perhaps resulting in a period of Oropian autonomy, or possibly provided a window for Athenian intervention. Herodotus does confirm that Oropos was directly across the channel from the city of Eretria, and that upon arriving at the port of Oropos, the Athenian kleruchs considered themselves "safe," and perhaps even on Athenian-held soil.[85] Tangential to this historical chronology, but important to the larger discussion, is the fact that Herodotus never mentions the region of Oropos in connection with the oracular sanctuary of Amphiaraos, though he was quite familiar with both; in fact, he does not give a precise location for the Archaic oracle of Amphiaraos, noting only that it was in the vicinity of Thebes.[86] As Herodotus was familiar with Kroisos' dedications to Amphiaraos, and also with the geographic region of Oropos on the Euboean Gulf, surely he would have located the Archaic oracle of Amphiaraos at Oropos, if the region did indeed host an Amphiareion at that early time.[87]

The larger question remains: when did the region of Oropos come under Athenian control? Working downwards in time through the chronological possibilities, Knoepfler suggests a date around 470 BCE, when Athens—at the head of the Delian League—was in a

[85] As adherents of the 506 BCE annexation theory would surely believe. Hdt.6.100-101.
[86] Hdt. 8.133-4, discussed above.
[87] As an Athenian crossing point from Eretria, Hdt. 6.101.1.

period of ascendancy and expansion under Kimon.[88] A single herm found in the later sanctuary may also date to this period (Fig. 43), though the piece is problematic and significantly earlier than all other fifth century material.[89] Petropoulou suggests that the herm was erected at the site prior to the establishment of the Amphiareion, while Petrakos argues that it was originally set up in the town of Skala Oropou, and was moved only later to the sanctuary.[90] In any case, does one *ex situ* herm an early Classical sanctuary make? Not necessarily.

A more conservative date for Athenian control of Oropos would be in the mid fifth century; I propose two possibilities below. The higher chronology would place the annexation in or after 457 BCE, when the Athenians "became masters of Boeotia and Phokis" following the Battle of Oenophyta; by this time, Athens controlled territory well beyond the Oropia, and had established democracies throughout the hostile but subjugated territory of Boeotia.[91] Though earlier dates cannot be excluded, it seems feasible to postulate 457 BCE—during the true acme of Athenian hegemony in the region, as laid out in the introduction of this project—as a time by which the Oropia was subject to Athenian

[88] Knoepfler 1985, pp. 50-55.

[89] Herm: A 248 (Amphiareion Museum), c.470-450 BCE. A marble herm, found in the orchestra of the theater, in front of one of the middle engaged columns in the *proskene*, upright in the ground. Inscription reads "Strombichos the Athenian made [Me];" another herm of Stombichos was standing on the Akropolis around 470 BCE (Hurwit 1999, p.147, fn.52). This date would correspond to a herm uncovered in the theater the Amphiareion, and recently dated to "470-450" BCE: Στρόμβιχος | ἐποίεσεν | Ἀθεναῖος (*IG* I^3 1476; Petrakos 1969, p.121 n.15; Petrakos 1999, pp.256-7). The assertion of Athenian identity by the herm's carver, Strombichos, is striking; to judge from the ethnic of the sculptor, it seems to have either been set up in a non-Athenian territory, or in an Athenian territory with a diverse, non-Athenian majority population. If it was functional rather than votive in nature, then its probable placement along the major road leading toward Athens, in addition to the sculptor's assertion of Athenian identity, suggests that Athenians were involved in structuring and maintaining passages through the Oropia by this time. If it served a votive function, which is plausible based on another herm of Strombichos that stood on the Athenian Akropolis, then it seems considerably earlier than all known architecture within the sanctuary. The inscription does not name the divinity to whom it was dedicated, and could have been presented to a deity other than Amphiaraos. It could also have been brought to the sanctuary well after it was produced, especially as it was found *ex situ*.

[90] Petropoulou 1981, p.57 n.60; Petrakos 1969, p.21; Petrakos 1999, pp. 256-7, 489. Hubbard's suggestion (1992, pp.105-6) that the herm indicates that "the orchestra was itself the earliest part of the Amphiaraion, as a sacred place for the performance of ritual dances of even mimetic drama in honor of Amphiaraus, with the temple and stoa being constructed later" is impossible to reconcile with the archaeological evidence, and cannot be seriously entertained by anyone who has read the archaeological reports.

[91] Thuc.1.108.3.

control, along with territories much further afield, such as Phokis and Boeotia.[92] A second, slightly later *terminus ante quem* for Athenian control of Oropos would be in the following decade, when Athens conquered the island of Euboea (but lost control of Boeotia); after an unsuccessful revolt in 446 BCE, Euboea was brought under Athenian control by Perikles.[93] A fragmentary inscription from this time shows that Oropos was undeniably serving as an Athenian controlled port that enabled passage to her two kleruchic holdings on Euboia, Chalkis and Hestiaia. The inscription from Hestiaia, *IG* I^3 41.67-70, provides a *terminus ante quem* of 446/5 BCE for Athenian control of the Oropia on historical grounds; the inscription mentions Oropos three times in relation to tariffs for ferry fees. Oropos was a major hub for communication and transportation between the northeastern border of Attica and Euboea:

67 ...ἔ[στο δὲ τôι πορθμεύοντι ἑκ Χ]-
[α]λκίδος ἐς Ὠροπὸν πῥ[άττεσθαι τρῆς ὀβολός· ἐὰν δ]-
69 [έ] τις ἔχς Ὠροπô ἐς *h*εστ[ίαιαν ἢ ἐς Δῖον ἢ ἐκεῖθεν ἐ]-
70 ς Ὠροπὸν πορθμεύει, πρ[αττέσθο *h*επτ' ὀβολός·

Listing the price in obols for individuals traveling to and from Oropos, the inscription suggests that Athens was using Oropos as a mainland port from which to reach her kleruchies in Euboea, namely Chalkis and Hestiaia. The latter polis, Hestiaia, was located in northern Euboia and strategically overlooked the narrows leading to the northern Euboian Gulf. Hestiaia was made an Athenian kleruchy after the island's unsuccessful rebellion in 446 BCE.[94] It received harsher treatment than the other Euboian *poleis* after the revolt; we learn that Perikles sent off the city's remaining population to Macedonia and replaced them

[92] On the character of the empire, see Meiggs 1979; Rhodes 1985; Badian 1993; Meiggs 2008 (with previous bibliography); Mattingly 2008 (with previous bibliography).
[93] Thuc. 1.114.
[94] Thuc.1.114.3; Plut. *Per*. 23 attributes the severity of the punishment to the Hestiaian seizure of an Athenian ship and the murder of its crew, but its strategic location overlooking the narrows cannot be disregarded.

with a kleruchy of either 1000 or 2000 Athenian settlers.[95] By comparison, we remember how Chalkis hosted a kleruchy of 4000 Athenian citizens, established after the democracy's victory in 506 BCE.[96] By the mid fifth century, therefore, there were between 5000-6000 Athenian kleruchs in Euboea, presiding over landed estates. One major route by which Athens accessed these holdings, and likely by which the kleruchs were accessing Athens, was via Oropos. Oropos, according to *IG* I^3 41.67-70, was under Athenian control by 446 BCE at the latest.

Oropos remained in Athenian control throughout the *Pentakontaetia* and the Archidamian phase of the Peloponnesian War. In 430 BCE, Thucydides writes that the Peloponnesians, while "passing through Oropos, ravaged the land called Peraike, which the people of Oropos, subjects of the Athenians, manage."[97] "Peraike" is often emended to "Graike" in the manuscripts, but whichever transcription is preferred, it is clear that by this time Oropos was absolutely "subject to Athens."[98] Thucydides uses a specific verb, νέμω, to denote how the region was controlled by Oropian subjects of Athens; while I opted for a neutral translation, "manage," this verb also carries the sense of dealing out, distributing, or holding as a portion or allotment. The people of Oropos, furthermore, are described as ὑπήκοοι, "subjects" of Athens; Thucydides uses this term elsewhere as a substantive noun in reference to Athens' "subject allies" during the Peloponnesian War, a group quite distinct from her "autonomous allies".[99] The contrast drawn between these two groups of Athenian "allies" is stark, and suggests that Oropos was controlled by Athens in the unavoidable

[95] 1000 Athenian settlers: Diod. 12.22; 2000 Athenian settlers: Theopompos in Strab. 10.1.3.
[96] Discussed above, with Hdt. 5.77.2; *IG* I^3 501.
[97] Thuc. 2.23.3: …ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι.
[98] Thuc. 2.23.3; see Lattimore 1998; Hornblower 1991 *ad* 2.23.3.
[99] cf., Thuc. 6.22, 7.57.3, 8.2.2. Thuc. 7.57.3: τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπήκοοι, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι. Thucydides goes on to note that, of the "subject allies" forced to fight alongside the Athenians in Sicily, many were of the major cities in Euboia (7.57.4). So too Thuc. 6.22, in which a sharp distinction between Athens' allies and her subjects is drawn: ὁπλίτας τε οὖν πολλούς μοι δοκεῖ χρῆναι ἡμᾶς ἄγειν καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ **τῶν ξυμμάχων**, **τῶν τε ὑπηκόων** καὶ ἤν τινα ἑκ Πελοποννήσου δυνώμεθα ἢ πεῖσαι ἢ μισθῷ προσαγαγέσθαι…

capacity of subjects and masters—a type of control similar to that of once rebellious islands like Samos, Kea, and Andros.[100]

Thucydides notes that in 426 BCE, Oropos was used as a base from which to make raids into Boeotia; Athenian ships under the command of Nikias sailed from Melos to Oropos and, landing at nightfall, started the march inland to Tanagra.[101] After ravaging the territory of Tanagra, some Athenians marched back to Athens, while others returned to the ships at Oropos. Oropos played a similar role two years later, again serving as a naval port with sea-access to Athens proper, as well as a northern frontier base from which to engage the Boeotians. In 424 BCE, Athens was defeated by a Boeotian army at the Battle of Delion; the fighting took place along the border of Boeotia, and the Athenian troops ultimately broke rank and fled. Thucydides notes that some Athenians "fled toward Delion and the sea, and some towards Oropos, others toward the mountain Parnethos, and others other ways, as to each appeared hope of safety… the next day those that made their way to Oropos and Delion went from there by sea to Athens, having left a garrison in Delion, which place, notwithstanding this defeat, they yet retained."[102] Oropos also hosted an Athenian garrison until the year 411 BCE.[103] Throughout these passages, Thucydides describes the Oropia as a frontier territory in which Athenian hoplites were out of harm's way—and out of hostile territory—yet not quite on Attic soil proper. Oropos was an important port that granted Athenian ships access to inland Boeotian territories and Euboean kleruchies, as well as a garrisoned outpost that served to secure the northern border of Attica.

Oropos was also crucial for the role it played in the importation of grain from Euboea, a major Athenian granary during the fifth century.[104] Prior to 411 BCE Athenian grain was imported from Euboea to Oropos, and then brought the grain overland to central

[100] Thuc. 7.57.3-4.
[101] Thuc. 3.91.2-5.
[102] Thuc. 4.96.
[103] Thuc. 8.60.
[104] Moreno 2008, pp. 78-143, esp. 81.

Athens by way of Dekeleia; Thucydides notes that Oropos was fortified to keep Eretria in subjugation, and this was likely related to controlling the grain trade.[105] The loss of Euboea in 411 BCE terrified the Athenians even more than the Sicilian disaster, as according to Thucydides "they were more dependent on Euboea than they were on Attica."[106] After the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia and the loss of Oropos, Euboean grain had to be imported by sailing around Cape Sounion, at a great cost to the Athenian state.[107] Controlling Oropos during the war was thus important not only as a strategic frontier base for external military operations, but also as a domestic artery for securing grain imports from Euboea.

3.3.3 Athenian Held Oropos

How did the fifth century Athenian occupation and administration of Oropos play out "on the ground," so to speak? A passing reference in a speech of Lysias reveals that Oropos was governed by an Athenian administrator named Polystratos (ἄρξας ἐν Ὠρωπῶι), when the region was under Athenian control during the Peloponnesian War.[108] The participle ἄρξας leaves vague the position's title, intimating only that Polystratos was the recognized magistrate or ruler of Oropos, though not in any specific capacity. He was a prominent or perhaps infamous political figure in Athens, a member of the Four Hundred who was later brought to trial on charges of courting an oligarchy.[109] This reference to Polystratos' involvement at Oropos shows that the region was administered by Athenian officials during the fifth century, but just how it was governed and tied back into Attica proper is unclear (e.g., was it extra-tribal in the sense of Salamis or Eleutherai?).

In addition to an Athenian magistrate, Oropos hosted an Athenian garrison amidst a partially (largely?) non-Athenian population; we should imagine Athenian hoplites a

[105] Thuc. 8.60.
[106] Thuc. 8.96.
[107] Thuc. 7.28.
[108] Thus prior to 411 BCE, when it was lost to Boiotia. See Lys. 20. 6.
[109] Lys. 20.6.

frequent presence in the town and sanctuary during this period, but that the residents of Oropos were non-Athenian—they were Oropian.[110] Though we do not hear about Athenian settlers and land redistributions in the Oropia during the fifth-century as we do in the fourth, it is clear that Athenians both held estates and cultivated the region of Oropos during this time. Oropian estates emerged on auction in the Attic Stelai of 415 BCE, and suggest substantial Athenian landholdings in a region open to such ventures.[111] Up for auction was one aristocratic Athenian property ἐν ᾽Οροπῶ[ι], and another at "the sacred harbor at Oropos" ([χο]| ρίο ἐν ᾽Οροπῶι ἐν ἰερ[ῶι λιμένι]); the latter was presumably the "sacred harbor" serving the Amphiareion.[112] Though fragmentary, both registers provide clear evidence of Athenian land ownership in Oropos in the years prior to 415 BCE; it is unclear whether this land was acquired privately or as kleruchic land. The Attic Stelai also suggest that Athenian aristocratic citizens would have been part of the social fabric of Oropos during the fifth century, if only during agricultural seasons, or as largely absent landlords. This mirrors the pattern of aristocratic land holding known in rural districts of Attica itself.[113] With Athenians active in the Oropia as landowners, magistrates, and soldiers, it is not surprising that Athenian material culture, too, has emerged from the region in fifth century contexts. The east cemetery at Oropos has produced grave assemblages dominated by Attic white-ground lekythoi from c.430 BCE;[114] this suggests a degree of "Atticization" at work in Oropos during the mid fifth century, whether imposed in a top-down fashion by the

[110] Athenian garrison at Oropos: Thuc. 8.60.
[111] *IG* I^3 428.4, 428.6. The Attic Stelai were publically-displayed inscriptions listing the property sales of those found guilty of parodying the Eleusinian Mysteries in 415 BCE.
[112] *IG* I^3 428.5-6. Moreno 2007, pp.80-95; Erxleben (1975, p.85 n. 11) thinks that this property may have belonged to Oeonias, who appears again in ll. 8–9. For the Delphinion as the sacred harbor of the Amphiareion: Strab. 9.2.6; Moreno 2007, pp.80-95. Lolling also identified Delphinion with the closest point on the coast to the Amphiareion, the shallow bay at Kamaraki (Mandraki), with submerged remains (1885, pp. 351–2). Two ancient walls lining the bay have now been surveyed by Cosmopoulos (2001, pp. 59–60, 90–1, figs. 39, 54) but remain insecurely dated.
[113] Moreno 2007, p.90.
[114] Petrakos 1992, p.7.

Athenian state upon subject Oropians, or happening more organically from the bottom-up, with native Oropians keen to trade, buy, sell, and use Athenian products.[115]

The presence of Athenian-held estates in Oropos also suggests that the region was being cultivated for agriculture in the fifth century. This notion is strengthened by a fourth century inscription that reveals rich yields of barley and grain from the Oropia, though it dates to 329/8 BCE and would have to be retrojected back into the fifth century.[116] The Lykourgan-era inscription preserves a first-fruits offering from the area of the Amphiareion made to the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis; it records a surprisingly rich yield of 20 *medimnoi* of barley, 5 *medimnoi* and 9 half-sixths of grain.[117] Not only were wheat and barley harvested in the Oropia (the Attic periphery) and channeled back toward the Athenian core (as *aparchai* dedications to the state cult of Demeter), but the relatively high ratio of wheat to barley production could "suggest agricultural intensification."[118] If the Oropia was intensively cultivated in the fifth century as it was in the fourth—as seems possible, to some degree, from the estates of the Attic Stelai—then Oropos would have held even greater appeal to Athens; it is estimated that even in the best years of the fifth century, Athens was importing between ½- ¾ of its grain from abroad.[119] As Athens was dependent on grain imports during the years she was known to have controlled Oropos, it is possible that in addition to annexing Oropos for reasons of war, trade, and access to Euboea, Athens was also protecting a local, contiguous supplier of grain.

Related to the issue of Athenian land use in Oropos is regional settlement data from the Oropos Survey Project. Nucleation had been the general settlement pattern in the

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[115] One wonders if a new Brauronian inventory list found in Oropos will yield additional evidence for the "Atticization" of Classical Oropos; Yannis Kalliontzis of the Ecole française d'Athènes is giving a talk on January 4, 2016 entitled "An Inventory List from the Brauronion found in Oropos," which could suggest that new and unpublished material has emerged from the region under question.
[116] *IG* I² 1672. The inscription details the first-fruits offering from the area of the Amphiareion to Eleusis: 20 *medimnoi* of barley, 5 *medimnoi* and 9 half-sixths of grain (ll. 401-2).
[117] *IG* I² 1672.401-2.
[118] Papazarkadas 2011, p.48.
[119] Moreno 2007, pp.3-34, 80-95.

Oropia prior to the mid fifth century (as evidenced in sites like Skala Oropou); settlement patterns and land-use remained nucleated until the time in which the Amphiareion was established, after which point patterns seem to have shifted significantly. Cosmopoulos tied the process of settlement expansion—no longer nucleation—to the intensification of land use, driven by Athenian agricultural interests and the new cult of Amphiaraos in the region.[120] Perhaps the establishment of the Amphiareion did indeed lead to a broadening and de-nucleation of regional settlement patterns; but the inverse scenario can also be read from the data, with the Athenian cultivation of Oropian territory during the last quarter of the fifth century triggering the foundation of the Amphiareion in a location distant from the city of Oropos, alongside the road leading to Athens and near Athenian agricultural estates. The foundation of the extra-urban sanctuary could thus have been initiated in accordance with Athenian intrigues in the region, more as a result of new de-nucleated settlement patterns, rather than the factor that caused them.

A picture thus emerges of Oropos in the late fifth century as an important frontier region that attracted a good deal of Athenian attention. Athenian citizens held estates in the area, and Oropos served as a port of transit and communication between Euboea and the Attic mainland proper. An Attic garrison was stationed there during the Peloponnesian War, and Oropos was used as a base for making forays into Boeotian territory. Large amounts of grain would have been passing through Oropos from Euboea to Athens, and the port likely brought traders and merchants from Athens, if not from the larger Athenian *arche*. It seems that Oropos itself was undergoing cultivation by Athenian citizens during this period, though to what degree is unknown. Athenian *lekythoi* appear in fifth century Oropian grave assemblages, revealing a degree of Athenian cultural influence in addition to administrative control.

[120] Cosmopoulos 2001, pp.74-5.

3.3.4 The Athenian Loss of Oropos

Alongside other wartime losses, Athens lost control of Oropos in the year 411 BCE.[121] On the heels of the disastrous Sicilian Expedition and the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia, the Boeotians collaborated with the Eretrians and discontented Oropians to incite a revolt in Oropos; the Spartans then utilized Oropos as a naval base during the war, from which they helped liberate Eretria from Athenian rule.[122] In terms of administration, what followed was either a period of autonomy for Oropos, or possibly the region came under Theban control with a *laissez-faire* approach to governance.[123]

We glimpse how this territorial loss played out in Athens in Lysias', *Against Philon*. In stinging invective during an evaluative council hearing (δοκιμασία), Lysias denounced the Athenian aristocrat Philon for his actions between 404-403 BCE. When Thrasyboulos and the ousted Athenian democrats marched from Phyle to the Piraeus "to the rescue of the fatherland", Philon placed his own interests over those of the polis: "he packed up all of his possessions and left the city to live beyond the border at Oropos, where he paid a metic's tax and resided under the protection of a patron, since he preferred the life of an alien among those people to citizenship with us".[124] It appears, then, that even after Athens lost control of Oropos in 411 BCE, Athenians could live in the Oropia, though as metics required to pay a tax and have a sponsor. What, if anything, does this imply about the people visiting the sanctuary of Amphiaraos? It seems that Athenians could and did still use the sanctuary during periods of non-Attic control. For example, Athenian votive reliefs have been uncovered from the period between c.411-370 BCE, while inscriptions from the sanctuary specify prices for admission and incubation, but do not discriminate against certain ethnics

[121] Part of Attica during the greater part of the fifth-century: Hdt. 6.100-1; Thuc. 2.23.3; 3.91.3-5, 4.96.6-9, 4.99; 7.28.1; *IG* I^3 41. 67-70, *IG* I^3 428. Athens' loss of Oropos in 411 BCE: Thuc. 8.60; 8.95.1-4; *SEG* 19: 363, with Plassart 1958, pp. 131-159.
[122] Thuc. 8. 60.1-2, 8.95.1-7.
[123] Petrakos and others propose a period of Oropian autonomy (1968, p.23), but there are no primary sources that speak to the situation at Oropos during this period.
[124] Lys. 31.7-9.

over others.[125] One so-called "sacred law", *LSCG* 69, reveals that visitors undergoing incubation had to be identified by both their name and city; this information was recorded on a board visible to all sanctuary visitors (=*IG* VII 235.39-43; see Appendix 1.6). This suggests that the sanctuary was in fact open to worshippers from Attica, in addition to Oropos, Boeotia, Eretria, and elsewhere, regardless of which polis controlled the Oropia at the time.

Returning to our historical overview, in 402 BCE internal stasis and civil war broke out in Oropos. This led Thebes to mount a campaign against the city; for safety concerns, the Thebans seized Oropos and moved inhabitants some seven stades inland.[126] The Amphiareion obviously remained where it was, but the priesthood and sanctuary administration firmly came under Theban control at this time. By 395 BCE, Oropos had been incorporated within the Boeotian Koinon. After spending 15 years inland under Theban control, the people of Oropos again regained autonomy following the Peace of Antalkidas in 387/6 BCE; after this forced disbanding of the Boeotian League, the people of Oropos returned to their former seaside settlement.[127] Roughly a decade of autonomy ensued, but by 378/7 BCE Oropos again entered the Athenian ambit during the period of the so-called Second Athenian Confederacy.[128] A decree from this period of Athenian control (c.374-366) shows that an Athenian citizen of Dekelea was serving as the priest of Amphiaraos, and that

[125] Found in the sanctuary itself, *IG* VII 235 (*LSCG* 69) shows that during a period of Boeotian control, Boeotian drachmas were required for payment, whereas during the period of Oropian independence (from 387 to sometime in the 370s BCE), currency of any type was an acceptable form of payment (*LSCG* 69.22). *LSCG* 69 avoids mention of an issuing authority, and makes no attempt to date itself with reference to polis-specific strategies for recording the year, such as the use of Archon dates found in Attic inscriptions of this period; time, furthermore, is defined seasonally rather than by the (differing) months of either the Attic or Theban calendar. Additionally, all visitors undergoing incubation had to be identified by both their name and city; this information was recorded on a board visible to all sanctuary visitors (ll.39-43). This suggests that the sanctuary was in fact open to worshippers from Attica, in addition to Oropos, Boeotia, Eretria, and elsewhere, regardless of which polis controlled the Oropia at the time. Xenophon's familiarity with the sanctuary's cold, refreshing spring water suggests that Athenians were indeed acquainted with and utilizing the shrine during the first quarter of the fourth century BCE, even though it was not Athenian controlled for the majority of this period (Xen. *Mem.* 3.13).
[126] Diod. 14.17; possibly northwest of Skala Oropos to the site of Lavovouni, Petrakos 1968, p.23.
[127] Xen. *Hell*. 5.1.33-36. Under the Peace of Antalkidas, the Thebans were forced to disband their Boeotian League.
[128] The city returned to Athenian control proper by the late 370s (at the latest: Diod. 15.76.1. Mazarakis Ainian 2008, p.17).

control of the sanctuary was in the hands of the Athenian *demos*; the decree itself was paid for from the sanctuary's treasury, and also refers to money from shops, possibly those on the south bank of the sanctuary.[129]

It has been argued by Denis Knoepfler that between 374-366 BCE Athens not only regained control of Oropos and (re)occupied it, but also drastically changed the region by subdividing the land for Athenian agricultural intensification. He suggests that it was during this winter that Athens implemented the first *horismos*, which allocated five parcels of land to paired groups of the 10 Athenian Tribes, hence five regions of the Oropia distributed to 10 Tribes in total. This unique strategy of land-management is known to have been implemented beyond a doubt in 335 BCE, but Knoepfler's case for an earlier *horismos* is a compelling one.[130] When Athens controlled Oropos between 374-366 BCE, the Athenian Assembly was actively involved in the affairs of the sanctuary; Athens invested in repair and building work during this period, and an Athenian held the priesthood.[131]

This short period of Athenian control ended in 366 BCE. In this year, exiled Oropians seized their native city, assisted by the tyrant of Eretria, Themison. Though the Athenians marched out in full force, they were unable to regain control of Oropos.[132] Diodoros elaborates, noting that Themison foolishly called upon Thebes to help combat the numerically superior Athenian force, which had marched to Oropos *en masse* to defend the territory. Thebes assisted Eretria and helped repel the Athenian troops, but in the end kept Oropos for herself.[133] Aeschines similarly notes that "Themison of Eretria, in a time of peace, robbed us of Oropos," and Demosthenes, too, bitterly reminds the Athenians of their loss of Oropos in this year.[134] Their statements betray just how precious Oropos had become to

[129] *I. Oropos* 292; see section 3.4.
[130] Knoepfler 2010, pp.439-454.
[131] Knoepfler 1986, pp. 71-98; *SEG* 36.442; Xen. *Hell*. 5.1.33-6; Isokrates 14.20, 37.
[132] Xen. *Hell*. 7.4.1; Aischin. 3.85.
[133] Diod. 15.76.1
[134] Aeschin. 3.85; Dem.18.99.

Athenians during the fourth century.

Following Thebes' defeat in the battle of Chaironea in 338, Oropos briefly regained its autonomy, but soon the city was given back to Athens in 335 by Alexander.[135] After this transfer, Oropos was ostentatiously paraded back into the Athenian fold, and the sanctuary of Amphiaraos played a significant role in the (re)integration of this territory within Attica. During this period the Amphiareion became a major locus of state-sponsored cult, and Amphiaraos himself was voted a golden crown by the Athenian Assembly.[136] The sanctuary was embellished architecturally, and repairs were made to older structures, such as the fountain and drainage system (Appendix 1.3); public and private dedications flooded the precinct, and an elaborate pentaeteric religious festival, the Amphiareia, was reorganized and celebrated with pomp beginning in 329/8 BCE (Appendix 1.5).[137] Many prominent Athenians took part in the affairs of this territorial merger, including the statesman Lykourgos and the Atthidographer Phanodemos, the latter of whom received a golden crown for drafting a law promoting the interests of Amphiaraos and his (now) Attic cult (Appendix 1.5).[138] These measures, part of the so-called Lykourgan "religious revival," centripetally tied the Oropian border sanctuary to the Athenian center more flagrantly than ever before.[139] But behind the athletic games and musical contests was a somewhat more insidious agenda. A policy was implemented (or possibly re-implemented) that allowed for the partial incorporation of the Oropia within the Athenian Tribal system, with the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at the heart of the partitioning. Upon regaining the territory in 335

[135] Paus. 1.34.1 notes that the Oropia was given over to Athens in 338 BCE by Philip II; the recent study of Knoepfler (2001, pp.367-89) has shown quite clearly, however, that it was in fact Alexander in 335 BCE who restored Oropos to the Athenians (so too Knoepfler 1985, p.53; 1986 pp.73-4; 1993 p.295). See also Petrakos 1999, p. 497; Mazarakis Ainian 2008, p.17.
[136] *I.Oropos* 296; Scafuro 2009. It is of interest to note that, in decrees mentioning sanctuary and festival ritual, sacrifices were made not just to Amphiaraos, but also to the other gods worshipped in the precinct with him (αἱ θυσίαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, *I.Oropos* 297.14-15).
[137] *I.Oropos* 297-298, 295, 292-3, 347-60.
[138] 332/1 BCE, the golden wreath cost the state 1000 drachmas (*I.Oropos* 297.23-7).
[139] Hanink 2014, pp.1-24; Mikalson 1998; Parker 1996, pp.218-255.

BCE, the Oropia was promptly surveyed and parceled by a board of 50 ὁρισταί, boundary officials, who "consecrated" roughly 17% of the territory to Amphiaraos.[140] A considerable extent of the entire Oropia was thus deemed sacred to the god, meaning that it fell under the jurisdiction of the sanctuary, which was lucratively controlled and leased out by the Athenian state. As far as I am aware, this absorption of territory by paired groups of the Ten Tribes is unparalleled, though the partitioning of land certainly recalls mechanisms in place within Athenian kleruchies (see Part I.1).

As discussed above, the *aparchai* inscription from Eleusis, *IG* I^2 1672, dates to this Lykourgan period of control. Like a proper Athenian territory, the region of Oropos reverently dedicated First Fruits to Eleusis, which by 329/8 BCE included 20 *medimnoi* of barley, and five *medimnoi* and nine half-sixths grain: ἐκ τῆς ἐπ | Ἀμφιαράου δήμαρχος Προκλῆς Σουνιεὺς κρι ΔΔ, πυρῶν Γ μέδιμνοι ἐννέα ἡμιεκτεῖα, ὧν αὐτοὶ ἀπήν- |εγκαν οὐδενὸς ἐγλέξαντος κρι ΔΓII, πυρῶν τρία ἡμέδιμνα (*IG* II^2 1672.272-4). This immense offering suggests that the Oropia was producing vast amounts of agricultural produce, likely for Attic consumption as the land was effectively tribally owned.[141] The *aparchai* dedication was curiously overseen by Prokles, "the demarch of Sounion" (l.402), which presents an interesting series of questions surrounding the role of a "demarch" in the administration of the Oropia during the late Classical period. For example, did the demarch play a similar role in the administration of Oropos to Polystratos, in the latter's capacity as ruler in the years prior to 411 BCE? Papazarkadas suggests that Prokles was the archon in charge of overseeing Oropos, though does not imply that Oropos was recognized as a constitutional deme, just administered with the same machinery as one; the closest parallel, he suggests,

[140] This information comes mainly from the speech of Hypereides' *In Defense of Euxenippos*, especially passages 16-17, combined with and Agora I 6793 (*SEG* 37.100). That the territorial division dates to sometime after 335 BCE, see Whitehead 2000, pp.209-11. See too Papazarkadas 2011, p.48; Cosmopoulos 2001, pp.74-5.
[141] As noted above, the high ratio of wheat to barley production suggests agricultural intensification: Papazarkadas 2011, p.48.

was the non-constitutional deme of Salamis.[142] This seems a plausible interpretation as to how Oropos was integrated into the Athenian state during the Lykourgan period—and shows the key role played by the sanctuary of Amphiaraos in this process. As Papazarkadas notes, we see in the Amphiareion the use of "sacred rentals for sacred celebrations with an eye on political manipulation."[143] Athens was fixated upon controlling Oropos throughout the Classical period, with a good possibility that what emerges in fourth century sources reflects earlier practices first introduced in the fifth century.[144]

With regard to control of Oropos, the Lykourgan golden age was short-lived. In 322 BCE—in that last twilight of the Classical period—Athens again lost Oropos following Antipater's victory at Krannon.[145] As expected, with the loss of Greek autonomy and the collapse of the *polis* system, the character of the sanctuary changed in the Hellenistic and later periods, and was dominated by the dedications and building programs of Macedonians and, with time, Romans. The history of the Oropia during the Hellenistic and Roman periods is no less complex or fascinating than that of the periods explored above, but lies beyond the scope of the current project. In general, Oropos continued to be an extension of other *poleis*' broader cultural and political landscapes. The pre-Classical and Classical chronologies show that Oropos was an Athenian possession for a good deal of the fifth century, from 446 BCE at the latest (though possibly much earlier) to 411 BCE; it was in this window of Athenian control that the Amphiareion seems to have been established, according to archaeological

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142 Papazarkadas 2011, p.49; *contra* Whitehead 1982, pp.40-42; Taylor 1997, p.163.
143 Papazarkadas 2011, p.50.
144 That Athens was fixated on controlling Oropos in the fifth-century is implicitly suggested by references in Thucydides and Lysias. The fourth century partitioning of Oropian lands by *horistai*, and Athens' intervention in the subject region's cultic affairs—perhaps as early as 374 BCE, though certainly in 335—calls to mind management models employed in Athens' kleruchies, in nearby places like Aigina and Euboia, not to mention more distant regions like Samos, Lesbos, and Lemnos. The presence of an Athenian garrison at Oropos and an Athenian magistrate suggest that these administrative mechanisms could have been in place during the fifth century as well, as does the shift in regional settlement trends away from the earlier pattern of nucleation. Though we do not hear about Athenian kleruchs and land redistributions in the Oropia during the fifth-century, it is clear that Athenians both held estates and cultivated the region of Oropos during this time; Oropian properties emerged on auction in Attic Stelai of 415 BCE, and suggest older Athenian landholdings in a region open to such ventures (*IG* I^3 428.4-6).
145 Paus. 6.4.7, 7.10.4, 8.6.2, 10.3.4.

and literary sources. In addition to this fifth century period of control, Athenian influence was particularly strong between 378/7-366 BCE and 335-322 BCE. A study of the history of Oropos shows just how important the region was to Athens throughout the Classical period, and the sanctuary of Amphiaraos often played a central role in the administration of the territory.

3.4 Archaeology of the Sanctuary & Mechanisms of Cult

Beginning in the Classical period the Oropia came to include a sanctuary of Amphiaraos; Pausanias writes that the precinct was located 12 stades southeast of the coastal town, on the very spot in which Amphiaraos emerged from the earth as a divinity.[146] The Amphiareion was the chief extra-urban sanctuary of Oropos, and a major site of iatromantic healing in the larger region, if not the Aegean world by the Hellenistic period. This section examines the Classical sanctuary in order to ascertain the earliest archaeological material and explore questions of when the Amphiareion was established, what shape the sanctuary assumed in its earliest form, and what sorts of activities worshippers performed inside the *temenos*. Despite the haze surrounding the cult's foundation, much material is preserved from the site, from monumental architecture to esoteric inscriptions detailing sanctuary protocol. Pausanias' description further illuminates the precinct's archaeological remains, as do earlier literary sources.

As noted by the earliest excavation reports, as well as Petrakos, Cosmopoulos, Parker, and others, traces of activity are so faint before the last quarter of the fifth century BCE that the present sanctuary could not have existed there prior to that time, on the basis

[146] Paus. 1.34.1.

of archaeological remains.[147] Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos* gives a *terminus ante quem* of 414 BCE, as noted above, which requires the healing sanctuary to have been functional by that year, and quite familiar to an Athenian audience. The foundation or reorganization of the cult of Amphiaraos as a healing sanctuary in Athenian-controlled Oropos seems to have been yet another example of the Attic "healing cult phenomenon" discussed in Part II of this dissertation, seen in the sudden emergence of healing cults across Attica in a short period of time. This section provides an archaeological overview of the fully developed sanctuary, tapering in scope to explore the earliest remains in greater detail. The larger goal is to understand the workings of the cult and the experiences of individuals during the Classical period; thus, whenever possible, epigraphic and visual materials are integrated to provide a holistic account of rituals within the sanctuary.

3.4.1 Location, South Bank, Baths

The Amphiareion sits in a wooded ravine straddling the banks of a small stream, which flowed heavily during seasonal rainstorms (Fig. 44).[148] In antiquity the sanctuary was entered from the east, rather than the modern western entrance to the site. On the south side of the streambed, now obscured by scrub and vegetation, was a small commercially-oriented settlement; lying opposite the sanctuary proper—separated by the gully but spanned by a bridge (*IG* VII 4255.7, Appendix 1.3)—this region developed in response to the needs of the Amphiareion's visitors and personnel. Excavations show that the majority of these structures date from the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, and that major buildings included: an elaborate guest-house built around a court with a colonnaded roof; several other simpler inns for sanctuary visitors; an agora and *agoranomion*; a water clock

[147] Petrakos 1968, pp.18, 22, 66-7; Petropoulou 1981, p.39; Parker 1996, p. 146; Cosmopoulos 2001; Mazarakis Ainian 2006.
[148] On the flow and flooding of the stream, see *IG* VII 4255, see Appendix 1.3.

or *klepsydra*, used for keeping time; and workshops/shops that sold ceramics, food, and more.[149] It is likely that—as "sacred" properties—these holdings were leased out by the sanctuary.[150]

In its most developed form, the Amphiareion boasted a great deal of monumental architecture. As noted above, in anquity the sanctuary was entered from the northeast, though no structure resembling a propylaia has been found. Like the large healing centers at Epidauros and Kos, the sanctuary of Amphiaraos had baths for washing, purification, and hydrotherapeutic cure regimes; the baths suggest that the sanctuary encouraged a range of ritualized activities as part of the healing process. By the Lykourgan period at the very latest, and likely well before, the Amphiareion had separate bathing facilities for men and women (*IG* VII 4255.2-3, 8, Appendix 1.2). Petrakos suggests that the womens' baths were located at the eastern end of the sanctuary, encountered soon after entering, while the mens' baths were further west, closer to the sanctuary's altar; he notes that the earliest phases date to the second half of the fourth century BCE.[151] The structure identified today as the womens' baths was likely added after the sanctuary had grown and expanded eastward in the later fourth century; the men's baths in the west were likely older as they were closer to the earliest "core" of the sanctuary, situated beside the spring and fifth century BCE altars. This gendered division of bathing space could reflect the same partitioning of the sexes that structured ritualized incubation.

3.4.2 The Stoa

By far the largest building within the sanctuary was the stoa (Fig.45). It was built during the second half of the fourth century, and dedicated by two Macedonians, one of whom was

[149] Petrakos 1968, pp.110-118.
[150] See *I. Oropos* 290.18; *I. Oropos* 278.11-12; Lupu 2003, p.331, n. 55.
[151] Petrakos 1968, pp.72-77, 109-111.

Amyntas, the son of Perdikkas III.[152] This massive building provided sleeping quarters for ritualized incubation; it replaced the earlier incubation area, discussed below, and shifted it further to the east. At a length of 110.15 m. and a width of 10.78 m., the stoa's long and narrow form fit the sloping ravine; 41 Doric columns opened off the structure's southwest façade, and 17 interior Ionic columns axially divided the stoa into two aisles.[153] In addition to the names of the dedicators, architectural idiosyncracies also associate the building with constructions of the Macedonian court: an intercolumniation on the interior colonnade corresponds roughly to five intercolumniations on the outer façade; the crowning members of the Doric triglyphs have "ears" at the corners; the returns of the cornice lack mutules; the timber frame of the roof was built with sloping cross-beams.[154] Along the stoa's back wall ran a bench on which visitors and incubants could rest, and the square rooms on each end were likely utilized by cult personnel; surgical instruments from the sanctuary suggest that medical procedures were performed on site (Fig. 12), and it seems possible that these semi-private spaces could have catered to such functions. Finally, as the stadium is thought to have run directly in front of the stoa, visitors could have used this space to watch athletic events or processions during the sanctuary's Amphiareia festival.[155]

3.4.3 The Theater

Behind the stoa was a small Hellenistic theater.[156] Its construction utilized the ravine's slope to seat roughly 3,000 people. The elaborate stage building (*skene*) and the lower *proskene* both had Doric entablatures supported by pillars. The inscribed architrave of the *proskene* advertises that the structure was built at the expense of an *agonothetes,* who organized the

[152] See Coulton 1968.
[153] Petrakos 1968, pp.77-84; Coulton 1968, pp.147-83.
[154] *cf*. the Stoas of Philip and Antigonos at Delos, Stoa J on Samothrace. Coulton 1968, *passim.*
[155] Petrakos 1968, p.84.
[156] Petrakos 1968, pp.84-92.

games of the Amphiaria festival around 200 BCE.[157] The gaps between the Doric hemi-columns were filled with moveable panel paintings; these paintings likely related to the dramas performed in the theater, and the slots for hanging them are still visible today. Above the *proskene*, the *skene* had a Doric entablature; its epistyle also preserves a large inscription, which states that a priest of Amphiaraos commissioned the monumental structure at his own expense in the middle of the second century BCE.[158] Before the construction of the stage building, the circular orchestra (12.36 m. in diameter) hosted performances; the shift in the theater's architectural form, with performances moving from the orchestra to a newly commissioned stage building, likely mirrors the diminished function of the chorus in favor of individual actors.[159]

3.4.4 Changing Spaces: The Early Temple, the Sleeping Hall & Incubation, Dedications

Moving west through the sanctuary beyond the stoa and theater, the northwestern part of the sanctuary originally contained a small temple to Amphiaraos, along with an adjacent sleeping area (Fig.46); this area was physically delimited in the northeast, northwest, and southwest by strong retaining walls, which held back the sloping ravine and created space for the construction of sacred architecture.[160] Petrakos writes that this northern region was leveled and developed toward the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century BCE; in other words, only *after* the altars and the "theater of the altar" were extant was this area—just to the north—leveled and expanded.[161]

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[157] Petrakos 1968, pp. 87.
[158] Petrakos 1968, pp. 90-91.
[159] Ley 1991.
[160] To the east, sloping terrain led down to the area that would later contain the theater.
[161] These structures are discussed below in greater detail in 3.4.6. The "theater of the altar:" the structure appears under this name in an inscription of the Lykourgan period, *IG* VII 4255.29-30: ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ κατὰ τ|ὸ[μ] βωμόν, as is referred to by this term from here out.

In the western region carved out by the retaining walls, excavations uncovered a small building that was identified as the earliest temple to Amphiaraos (Fig. 46).[162] The external measurements of the structure were 5.5 m. long by 4.05 m. wide, with an average wall thickness of 0.40 m.; Petrakos suggests that the small temple was distyle *in antis*. The entrance to the *cella* was through a central doorway, the threshold block of which has been preserved.[163] Three courses comprised the *krepidoma*, and at the time of excavation the interior walls showed remnants of red plaster, though it is unclear whether this belonged to the original phase of construction or was added later. According to Petrakos, the small building served only to house the cult statue. If it was indeed the early temple to Amphiaraos, it likely fell out of use after the construction of the larger temple in the middle of the fourth century BCE. As I see it, however, the form of this early building does not immediately suggest that of a temple; it more closely resembles a treasury, and this type of building would give the space a dedicatory function during the Classical period, which then continued into Hellenistic times in the more overt terrace of dedications.[164] Regardless of the interpretation, this small building had certainly gone out of use by the first half of the

[162] Petrakos notes that this small temple only came into existence after the theater of the altar went into desuetude—at least the top part of it—because the highest level of the theater of the altar is at nearly the same elevation as the small temple. When the theater of the altar was complete, he reasons, it would have been higher, and possibly run into or obscured the area of the small temple itself, having been built on the sloping ravine before it was terraced (Petrakos 1968, p.69, 95). Thus the small temple was built later than the earlier theater of the altar, only after the sanctuary was expanded with the slope leveled and reinforced with retaining walls. It seems possible, however, that both structures could have coexisted without a spatial conflict if we envision the theater of the altar to have been only three or so levels in height, more wide than it was high. This area could also have been partially leveled from the time of its foundation, with the retaining walls developing gradually over time rather than happening in a single phase at the end of the fifth century.

[163] This block preserves recessions for the wooden antis of the door, and cuttings for the bronze pieces that allowed the doors to turn on axis; in the center of the threshold block are two pieces of bronze cut in such a way as to allow the door to be bolted shut.

[164] The transformation of this area, then, during the third century BCE into an area crowded with dedicatory bases would not be such an abrupt change in the use of the sacred space, if it had indeed housed a treasury in its earliest decades. Though the form closely resembles a treasury, perhaps it would be unusual for there to be only one treasury, especially with multiple *poleis* interested in gaining a foothold in the Oropia.

third century BCE; at this time, the porch of the soft limestone "temple" was covered over by two statue bases.[165]

A contemporary, larger building occupied the eastern space formed by the terracing and the construction of retaining walls—the *enkoimeterion*, a structure in which ritualized incubation took place.[166] The northern retaining wall formed the back of the building, and Dörpfeld maintains that foundations of its stylobate are preserved in the low wall just south of the first row of statue bases; he notes that this feature was once part of the long front façade of the incubation hall.[167] The full dimensions and shape of the early structure are unknown, though it is clear that the sexes were separated during the overnight ritual, with men sleeping on one side, and women on the other (*IG* VII 235.43-47, Appendix 1.6). As excavations uncovered no material from this building, it is possible that the original incubation hall was built largely of wood—wooden columns supporting a wooden superstructure.[168] This incubation area should belong to the earliest phase of the sanctuary; evidence from Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos* and *IG* VII 235 (414 BCE and c.388/7 BCE, respectively) make clear that the Amphiareion had a delimited space—if not building proper—in which worshippers could incubate by the last quarter of the fifth century. It was within this designated sleeping space that worshippers would hope to receive an oracle from the deity, a prescription or remedy for cure; that actual medical care was administered within the sanctuary is evidenced by surgical tools and instruments (Figs. 12-13). Before the construction of the large fourth century stoa, incubation and sanctuary healing would

[165] The bases of Isaurikos and Megakleides. Because of these statues, the form assumed by the Classical structure evades precise definition; it is possible that it might not have been distyle *in antis*.
[166] Petrakos 1968, pp.92-4.
[167] Dörpfeld *AM* 1922. Petrakos notes that the remnants of three stone basins suggest the presence of an aqueduct running in front of the stylobate, at least until a second one was built of marble in later times (Petrakos 1968, p.93). For more discussion regarding the period in which this incubation building went out of use, see Petrakos 1968, p.93. Petrakos claims that the 13 "rooms" behind the statue bases are later agrarian constructions (not ancient), which most likely belonged to the monastery that once owned the area.
[168] That the early structure was built of wood is in no way surprising; rather, it fits with the contemporary development of the south slope Asklepieion, in which early architectural features such as the propylon were constructed of wood rather than more permanent (and archaeologically visible) stone: *IG* II^2 4960.33-36.

have taken place within this *koimeterion*, in the region bordering the early core of the sanctuary. Petrakos suggests that this building was maintained until the end of the third century BCE, since all statues east of the Diomedes base are dated to this period; the western statue bases, on the other hand, are earlier and date to the first half of the third century BCE. In other words, before c.250 BCE no (known) statue was erected in the eastern part of the terrace, and thus it is logical that this area was taken by another structure, probably the incubation hall.[169]

By Pausanias' time, those seeking to incubate within the precinct slept atop the skin of the ram that they had sacrificed upon the sanctuary's altar; he writes that the incubation ritual hinged upon dreams received by worshippers; these dreams could take the form of oracles, sent by Amphiaraos himself:

> "My opinion is that Amphiaraos devoted himself mostly to the exposition of dreams. It is manifest that, when his divinity was established, it was a dream oracle that he set up. One who has come to consult Amphiaraos is first made to purify himself. The method of purification is to sacrifice to the god, and they sacrifice not only to him but also to all those whose names are on the altar. And when all these things have been done, they sacrifice a ram and, spreading the skin under them, go to sleep and await enlightenment in a dream."
>
> Paus. 1.34.5

Thus, in the case of the ram, the rite of sacrifice was linked with ritualized incubation; it helped pave the way for the divine interaction and oracle expected during the overnight sleep.[170] This tradition of sleeping on animal skins likely stretched back into Classical times, as two Classical votive reliefs dedicated to Amphiaraos depict incubants reclining atop the skins of animals, presumably those sacrificed within the sanctuary (Figs. 47-8).

Can anything be said about the early activities that took place within this shadowy architectural space, structured for ritualized incubation and healing? Operations and

[169] I suspect that after the dedication of the large stoa, there would have been a shift in incubation practices away from the earlier *enkoimeterion* and into the spacious stoa, but the transition was likely gradual.
[170] In Pausanias' time the prescribed animal for sacrifice was a ram, but it has been demonstrated by Petropoulou (1985) that in earlier times, the sacrifice of other types of animals was standard.

interactions within the Classical sanctuary can indeed be fleshed out, especially with the aid of visual and epigraphic narratives; votives and inscriptions shed light on the individual worshippers and activities that once filled the incubation hall. It emerges that ritualized incubation was central to the healing process and operations of the cult; incubation was the sacred process by which the cult was thought to be efficacious, and involved the personalized interaction of worshipper and god. These themes emerge from a variety of near-contemporary media, and frame the sanctuary's early incubation space—likely the structure uncovered by Leonardas and Dörpfeld in the region north of the spring and altars—as extremely central to the workings of the cult in its earliest years.

This is perhaps best illustrated by several votive reliefs that date to the late fifth or early fourth centuries BCE, roughly the same period as the early *koimeterion*. One striking relief—once displayed on a marble stand in the area north of the altars and fourth century temple (Fig. 49)—visually narrates the personal experience of a pilgrim named Archinos undergoing incubation; the votive sheds light on this important, ritualized process within the Classical sanctuary, likely within the space of the early incubation hall.[171] The unique object was commissioned by Archinos and dedicated to Amphiaraos, likely after a successful healing regime within the sanctuary. The piece shows an innovative and effective way of representing the epiphany and healing process within the Amphiareion.[172] The votive depicts the interior space of the temple, and in separate vignettes features both Amphiaraos and the dedicant during the incubation process. Within the space framed by two columns *in antis* appear both the hero Amphiaraos and the dedicant Archinos; rather than a single moment in the incubation process, three separate but related "episodes" are depicted. In the center, Archinos is depicted lying on his side on a *kline* while a snake emerges from behind

[171] Athens NM 3369, Kaltsas 2002, pp.209-10 n.425; Hausmann 1948, pp.38-60; van Straten 1976, p.3-4; Bravo 2004, pp.69-70; Petsalis-Diomidis 2006, pp.209-10; Platt 2011, pp.44-47.
[172] For more on the cognitive and representational challenges in depicting the epiphany process, and the artist's approach toward tackling these issues in the Archinos relief, see Platt 2011, pp.44-7.

and licks his right shoulder. On the left, Archinos is again represented—the figure is identical to the one shown in the central scene, with a beardless face and bushy, cropped hair—though this time he is not alone. Archinos stands beside a much larger figure, Amphiaraos, who is easily identified on the basis of his beard, attire, staff, and stance (in addition to being named as the votive's intended deity.) Tending to the patient's arm, Amphiaraos bandages it in the same spot that the snake licks; it seems possible that the snake could be a representation of Amphiaraos in theriomorphic form, or one of the cult's sacred animals.[173] Taken together, these two vignettes can be interpreted as a sleeping Archinos undergoing incubation (the central scene), while simultaneously dreaming that Amphiaraos was healing the very arm being licked by the snake (scene at left). An epigraphic parallel for this visual narrative—healing by a sacred animal combined with a vision of "temple medicine" in a dream—is also conveyed by the Epidaurian *iamata*; in both the Archinos relief and the inscribed narratives from Epidauros, the dreaming worshipper envisions an anthropomorphic interaction involving divine medical treatment, while in "actuality" a sacred snake is interacting wit the incubant.[174] In the relief, both Amphiaraos and Archinos focus their attention on the healing procedure; the relief shows the healing process at work on numerous levels: the real and the imagined, (perceived) divine healing and temple ritual. The standing figure on the extreme right can be interpreted in two ways. First, he may be a temple attendant, standing over the incubating Archinos. Alternatively, he may be Archinos himself, represented a third time, erecting the dedicatory *stele* seen behind the incubation scene. The latter scenario is most likely, as the figure's individual features

[173] On snakes in the epiphany process, see Petridou 2006, pp.81-86; van Straten 1976, p.8.
[174] e.g., *IG* IV^2 1.21.113-119: "A man's toe was healed by a snake. He was in a bad way from a malign ulcer on his toe; during the day he was brought out of the *abaton* by assistants and was sitting on a seat. There he fell asleep, and then a snake came out of the *abaton* and healed the toe by means of its tongue; and when it had done this it went back into the *abaton* again. When the man awoke, he was healthy and said that he had seen a vision—it seemed to him that a handsome youth had sprinkled a *pharmakon* over his toe." Platt understands this visual separation as the difference between a "conscious" and "physical" encounter—thus different levels of cognition—and examines the various "layers" of the oneiric experience captured in the vignettes (2011, p.46).

match those of Archinos to the left. The form of the background plaque—carved in low relief—mirrors that of the carved votive itself, which terminates in a tenon meant for insertion into a tall shaft. The reflexive depiction of a votive on the votive itself emphasizes the last step in the healing process, the dedication of an offering within the sanctuary in thanks for a received cure. Finally, above the roof of the temple hovers a large pair of eyes; they look out and engage the viewer. I understand them to relate to the oracular, "seeing" component of the cult, which relied on dreams delivered during incubation to arrive at a cure or a cure regime; and indeed, who better suited for such a procedure than Amphiaraos, the seer *par excellence*? However, other scholarship regards the eyes as apotropaic in nature, or opts instead to associate them with the fundamental concept of "vision" that is so central to the relief's conception and execution.[175] Verity Platt's later argument is particularly compelling, as it is only the eyes and the internal *pinax*—the elements referencing or giving life to the art object itself—that face outwards and meet the gaze of the external viewer.[176] The votive thus depicts at least two, but probably three, intimate aspects of Archinos' incubation experience within the Amphiareion: the ritualized sleep, the perceived notions of sacred healing and, once healthy, the dedication of a votive after a successful visit. It portrays Amphiaraos as directly intervening in the well-being of a worshipper, through the performance of a medical procedure upon Archinos' body. This relief emphasizes the "personal" relationship between god and worshipper that healing cults could afford through the rite of incubation. Within the sacred precinct, later worshippers would encounter Amphiaraos through the visual narrative of Archinos' votive; they would be confronted with Amphiaraos' ubiquity and efficacy in the realm of healing well before beginning the incubation process themselves.

[175] That the eyes are "apotropaic" without little additional explanation: Kaltsas 2002, p.209; Petsalis-Diomidis 2006, p.209. As related to the larger notion of "vision" underpinning the entire relief, see Platt 2011, pp.45-6.
[176] Platt 2011, p.47.

Though unparalleled with regard to narrative complexity, Archinos' relief was but one of many votives dedicated to Amphiaraos that referenced the rite of incubation, likely set within the early building uncovered below the terrace of dedications. The depiction of this overnight ritual, and the forum it created for interaction between worshipper and divinity, was shown to lie at the heart of the healing process—as confirmed by other, more fragmentary votives that also depict incubation in the precinct. One such piece dates from the beginning of the fourth century, and portrays a young woman reclining on a *kline*, incubating atop the skin of a sacrificed animal with a pillow behind her head (Fig. 47). She appears to engage with a figure of significantly larger scale, attendant at her bedside; this is likely Amphiaraos or a member of his divine retinue, such as Hygieia or Iaso. Now worn, the relief was once carefully carved: the female body is rendered in soft folds, attention is paid to the pleats of the bed linens, and the animal skin appears perforated to suggest a dappled pattern.

A new votive featuring a scene of incubation emerged in 1995 (Fig. 48), found built into the marble floor of the church of St. Nicholas in the nearby village of Kalamos.[177] Dating to the early fourth century BCE, the fragmentary votive reads --ΙΑΩΙ across the top of the relief, likely "Amphiaraos" in the dative, and –ΜΟΣ across the bottom (possibly the name of the dedicant, or the third declension name of the dedicant's father in the genitive). The iconography is unique: the scene features two individuals undergoing incubation, sleeping on pillows atop a bed. The figure on the left appears to be a bearded male; the figure on the right is more difficult to discern. Though covered by linens, both bodies are articulated with limbs and torsos visible. The couple incubates together atop a large animal skin, which is clearly emphasized by hatched patterning. Also present and carved on a much larger scale is a female figure—likely Hygieia, Iaso, or another female personification from the world of

[177] Preliminary reports only: see Ghini-Tsofopoulou 2000 *BCH* 124 (2), p.783; *AD* 50 (1995) [2000] B'1, p.58-60.

healing—as well as a dog, both to the left of the sleeping worshippers. Like the two others, this new and unpublished relief emphasizes the importance of incubation to the efficacy of the healing process, with Amphiaraos' female consort linking the ritualized sleep directly to well-being.

Clear and contemporary visual comparanda with scenes of sleeping worshippers have been uncovered in the healing sanctuaries of Amphiaraos at Rhamnous (Fig. 50) and of Asklepios in the Piraeus (Fig. 26). This special sort of incubation relief, which often featured Asklepios or Amphiaraos together with a female personification of health, seems to have been a visual hallmark of Attic healing cults. These objects shed light upon the goings-on within the *koimeterion*, and associate healing with ritualized incubation in the Amphiareion during its earliest years. They corroborate the view of the cult provided in Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos*, in which visitors packed their own pillows and bedding for incubation, and envisioned an encounter with Iaso, the personification of healing and Amphiaraos' daughter, within the precinct (see 3.3). The importance of the incubation space within the early cult is also underscored by *IG* VII 235 (Appendix 1.6), which lists the protocol and regulations—including the payment of a fee, offering of a sacrifice, and division of gendered space—associated with sleeping overnight in the "koimeterion" building (ll.43-44, 47). Taken together, these sources show the importance of the incubation ritual to the healing process, and provide a picture of the goings on within the early buildings below the later terrace of dedications.

Finally, returning to the sanctuary's early incubation space, the area previously occupied by the small temple and *koimeterion* assumed a new look and function in the late fourth century, well after the cult's foundation. Though this is not the place for a study of the dedications densely packed upon the terrace, numerous bronze and marble statues and inscribed bases were excavated from this area, many of which honored benefactors and

foreign rulers; found *in situ*, many were inscribed with proxeny decrees and other public documents, and some earlier dedications erased and their statues relabeled.[178] In addition to local priests and private Oropian citizens, surviving bases honor the family of King Lysimachos of Thrace and Macedonia (dedicated in 305 BCE), Ptolemy IV of Egypt and his wife Arsinoe III (220 BCE), Sulla and his wife Metella (87 BCE), and Agrippa, the general and son in law of Augustus (20 BCE).[179] Private dedications thus stood beside large, ostentatious equestrian statues of famous kings and statesmen, and officials from Oropos mingled alongside Macedonian generals; here processes of competition played out on the local and international levels, as royal monuments and civic decrees passed by the *polis* of Oropos partook in a multivocal statuescape. In later periods many of the bases (and likely statues) were altered and new inscriptions were added; this was cheaper than commissioning entirely new ones, and allowed the city of Oropos to manage their public-facing identity and quickly changing regional alliances.[180] Crammed with decrees as well as statues, this storied space portrays Amphiaraos' popularity by the Roman period, by which time he was officially recognized as a god by the Roman senate and the sanctuary was tax-exempt.[181]

3.4.5 The Big Temple of Amphiaraos

"The Oropians have both a temple and a white marble statue of Amphiaraos."

Paus. 1.34.2

[178] Löhr 1993, pp.183-212; Étienne and Knoepfler 1976; Petrakos 1997; Ma 2013, pp.139-142. John Ma notes that some of these statues and bases could have been transported into this area during the later construction of the Byzantine monastery, for example, and might have originally been scattered throughout the sanctuary, perhaps kept in the temple or erected beside the sacred fountain (Ma 2013, p.139).
[179] Petrakos 1968, pp. 143-215; Petrakos 1997.
[180] Ma 2013, pp. 112, 140-41, *passim*.
[181] This status was contested and eventually conferred by the Roman Senate, as described by *IG* VII 413 (*I. Oropos* 308): during the Roman period, Sulla awarded the area around the sanctuary the standard tax-free status given to gods and their *temene*; shortly afterward, Roman tax-farmers (*publicani*) tried to exact taxes from Oropos on the grounds that Amphiaraos was not a god but a hero, and was thus required to pay taxes to Rome. In 73 BCE, a delegation that included Cicero was sent from Rome to Oropos to investigate the matter; it determined that Amphiaraos was indeed a god, and Oropos was henceforth exempt from taxes.

Beside the region of pedestal bases was the hexastyle prostyle temple of Amphiaraos, built in the Doric order (Fig. 51). This large temple replaced the earlier small one—located under the later pedestal bases—in the mid-fourth century BCE.[182] The new temple had a broad portico or *pronaos* opening toward the northeast. Interior columns connected by screens divided the cella into three aisles, and between the second and third columns a large stone base (1.55 m. L x 1.65 m. W) was found, which would have supported a cult table or *trapeza*.[183] This *trapeza* is mentioned in an inscription of the late third century BCE, and an inscribed votive table recovered from the site, both of which emphasize the importance of this piece in sanctuary ritual.[184] The temple's *trapeza* once held the sacrificial meat, and probably the portions that were turned over to the priest.[185] To the west of this base was an acrolithic cult statue of Amphiaraos; Pausanias noted the "white marble statue" in the mid-second century CE, and a fragment of the statue's massive arm was recovered during excavations (Fig. 52).[186] Cut through the back wall of the temple was an *adyton*, a small room accessed through the door behind the cult statue; the layout of the chamber and the thick, hinged threshold block suggest that access to this space was restricted to cult personnel.

By the late third century BCE and likely much earlier, the temple was bedecked with votives; a surviving decree records the recasting of metal dedications within the temple of Amphiaraos, and reveals a sacred space brimming with offerings. An excerpt concerning anatomical metal votives reads as follows:

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[182] Petrakos 1968, pp.99-106.
[183] On the screen-barriers inside the temple of Amphiaraos at Oropos, see Mylonopoulos 2011, p.271, The unique form of this temple seems strikingly "un-Attic" to me; the closest comparandum that comes to mind is that of Artemis at Aulis, which was a markedly Boiotian construction. I suspect this temple hails from a period of Boiotian control, and was executed by Boiotian workmen.
[184] *IG* VII 303.4. On Greek cult tables more broadly, see the dissertation by Gill 1993.
[185] *I.Oropos* 324= *LSCG* 70; Petrakos 1968, p.99; *I.Oropos* 408; Lupu 2003, p.328.
[186] Paus. 1.34.2.

Μέλανος προσώπιον, ὀλκὴ ΔΔΓΗΗΗ, Βοΐσκου
πρόσωπον, ὀλκὴ ΓΗΗΗ, Φιλίας τιτθός, ὀλκὴ ΓΗΗΗ,
[70] Ἀρσίνου αἰδοῖον, ὀλκὴ ΓΗ, Καλλιμάχης ὀφίδ[ιο]ν, ὀλκὴ Γ,
[Ἵ]ππωνος αἰδοῖον, ὀλκὴ ΗΗΗ, Εὐφροσύνης τ[ιτθ]ός, ὀλκὴ ΓΙ,
Φαττίου χείρ, ὀλκὴ ΗΗΗ:

"From Melas a face, weight 29 drachmas, from Boiskos
a face, weight 9 dr., from Philia a breast, weight 9 dr.,
from Arsinos a genital organ, weight 6 dr., from Kallimache a small snake, weight 5 dr.,
from Hippon a genital organ, weight 4 dr., from Euphrosyne a breast, weight 5 dr.,
from Phattios a hand, weight 4 dr."

IG VII 303.68-72= *I. Oropos* 324

Similar to the decree from the precinct of the *Heros Iatros* in Athens (see 2.2 above), this inscription preserves dedications made from precious metals, primarily gold and silver. The names of the dedicators are noted, along with the type and weight of the dedication; predominant among the to-be-recast offerings were *phialai*, small tripods, drinking vessels, coins, and anatomical votives depicting various parts of the body (the face, breasts, genitals, hands, etc.). This inventory sheds light on the temple's interior, revealing a space outfitted with testaments of Amphiaraos' potency as a healing deity, narrated by personalized votive offerings.

3.4.6 The Cult Nucleus: The Spring, Altars, and Theater of the Altar

Northeast of the large temple of Amphiaraos was an area that formed the nucleus of the ancient sanctuary. The space contains the earliest archaeological remains including the so-called "sacred spring"—around which the sanctuary likely grew up—and a succession of altars that formed a major locus of ritual activity.[187] What remains today of the structure enveloping the spring dates to the Roman period; it consists of a rectangular well shaft

[187] Petrakos 1968, pp.107-8.

rising above ground level, which is built from large blocks in secondary use (these include blocks from older buildings within the sanctuary, statue bases, tiles, etc.).[188] In his initial publication of 1906, Leonardos identified this structure as the fountain house rather than the sacred spring; by the Lykourgan period, a fountain was known to have existed from a reference in *IG* VII 3499.[189] Petrakos thinks that Leonardos confused these structures, and that the spring could not have served as a fountain house since Pausanias notes that the former was not used for cleansing purposes:

> "The Oropians have near the temple a spring, which they call the Spring of Amphiaraos; they neither sacrifice into it nor use it for purifications or for lustral water. But when a man has been cured of a disease through an oracle the custom is to throw silver and gold into the spring, for in this place they say that Amphiaraos rose up after he had become a god." Paus. 1.34.4

By Pausanias' time the spring appears to have assumed a non-utilitarian capacity—it was not used for ablutions or drinking—though this of course need not have been the case in centuries prior.[190] The passage also shows how features of the physical Oropian landscape were integrated into the mythological tradition surrounding Amphiaraos, with the spring providing the conduit through which the divine Amphiaraos emerged from his earthly interment; the sacred spring gave the sanctuary a physical foothold in Amphiaraos' mythological trajectory from hero to divinity. The region between the altar and the ravine, which hosted the spring and other hydraulic structures such as the cistern, was a major locus of ritual activity; this area provided the water so crucial for use within the healing

[188] The external dimensions of the well-like structure built around the spring ran 1.75 m. by 1.75 m., with internal dimensions 0.60 m. by 0.65 m. Petrakos 1968, pp.107-8.
[189] Leonardos' identification: *ΠΑΕ* 1906, p.83. *IG* VII 3499.16-18: καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιαράου κρήνην κατεσκεύακ-|εν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἀγωγῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπονόμ-|ων ἐπιμεμέληται αὐτόθι: "and [Pytheas] built the fountain in the Amphiaraion and has taken care of the water channel and the underground conduits there."
[190] What seems to have been a rule by Pausanias' time regarding sanctuary protocol, such as the specific animal to be sacrificed and the hide slept upon (ram) during incubation, has been shown to have not been the case in earlier centuries. See Petropoulou 1981, pp. 39–63; Lupu 2003, pp. 321–40.

cult.[191] The sanctuary's waters were well known in antiquity; for example, Xenophon's audience knew the water to be characteristically cold and refreshing, while Aristophanes described the water as pure.[192]

Beside the spring were the altar and the so-called "theater of the altar;" these structures were clearly built in communication with one another, as the form of the latter anticipates the function of the former. From the cult's beginnings, this area was crucial to the everyday operations of the sanctuary, and provides the earliest archaeological indicators of cult in this location, dating to the last quarter of the fifth century. The location of the earliest, smallest altar corresponds to the center of the "theater of the altar," located on the sloping ravine just to the north. Its semi-circular stone steps provided a viewing area for the sacrifices performed within the sanctuary. I suspect that it also functioned as a space to accommodate ritualized feasting, which accompanied the blood sacrifices taking place at the altar(s); *IG* VII 277 specifies that within the early cult, sacrificed meat could not be removed from the *temenos*, suggesting that it had to be consumed somewhere within the precinct (Appendix 1.6). As no dining facilities are known from the Classical Amphiareion (or from later phases, for that matter), this stepped auditorium-like space could have provided for the consumption of sacrificial meat. Dating to the fifth century BCE, the theater of the altar is contemporary with the two early altars, and belongs to the core of the Classical sanctuary.[193] We can say with a degree of precision that the upper levels of the theater of the altar were dismantled between 335-322 BCE, when its upper courses were

[191] Petrakos notes that south of the spring (and touching it) is a tetragonal cistern made of the same material with internal dimensions of 1.4x2.25. In some regions hydraulic plaster can still be seen, and the bottom is laid with porous stone blocks (1968, p.108). It is unclear whether the spring had a building around it in the earliest phases of the sanctuary's existence. For his discussion of the spring, see Petrakos 1968, pp.108-9.
[192] Xen. *Mem.* 3.13; ἀκραιφνές ὕδωρ, Ar. *Amph.* F.16.
[193] Petrakos (1968) notes that the highest extant step (the third) of the theater of the altar is on the same level as the small temple. When the theater of the altar was complete, he reasons, it would have been significantly higher; it is clear that there were once more steps, because the drain for the men's baths and the drain running between the altar and the theater of the altar was built from material taken from the (presumably upper steps of the) theater of the altar. Petrakos concludes that when the theater of the altar was complete, the small temple could not yet have been standing, because the theater presumably rose higher than the small temple.

cannibalized for the construction of a much-needed storm drain (*IG* VII 4255.29-30; Appendix 1.2).[194]

Finally, the altars. This small area in fact hosted three altars: the largest one dates to the fourth century BCE, while two smaller, older altars date from the cult's foundation in the fifth century.[195] Petrakos notes that the smallest altar, 1.6 m. L by 1.15 m. W, is the older of the two; the second slightly larger altar was 3.71 m. L, with an unknown width (Fig. 53). Both were built from marble and have *anathyrosis* on their upper surfaces.[196] It is curious that there were two early altars, which were likely contemporary at some stage prior to the construction of the (third) larger one in the late fifth century BCE. Does this intimate the worship of multiple deities from the cult's beginning? Could Amphiaraos have come to join an earlier deity, worshipped at an altar beside the spring, and received his own altar when the cult was brought to Oropos? These questions unfortunately remain unanswerable, but are discussed in greater depth below.

Sometime in the late fifth or early fourth century, the two small altars were phased out of use and a new one was built, much larger in scale, which subsumed and covered the earlier altars within it (Fig.53).[197] Strikingly, the new altar was compartmentalized to accommodate multiple gods and heroes; it shows that several deities were in fact receiving worship in the sanctuary, in addition to and alongside Amphiaraos. The new altar was physically partitioned, with specific regions dedicated to different groups of divinities. Each space had a corresponding stone *stele* that named the god or hero to whom it was devoted, and two of these labels were recovered in the rubble of the altar; they date from the first

[194] Dörpfeld *AM* 1922 suggested that the theater of the altar went out of use with the construction of the big theater behind the stoa; Petrakos, eager to correct him, points out that Dörpfeld was wrong because each theater had a different function, and that the disappearance of the altar-theater was related to construction needs (e.g., storm drain), and the desire to expand the sanctuary.
[195] Petrakos 1968, pp.67-68.
[196] Petrakos 1968, pp.67-68.
[197] Dörpfeld *ΠΑΕ* 1884, pp.91-92, Fig. E'; Leonardos *ΠΑΕ* 1927, pp.30-31. Petrakos 1968, pp. 96-98. Around this same time or a little later a water channel was built between the altar and the theater of the altar, the construction of which utilized material from the theater of the altar (*IG* VII 4255.29-31).

half of the fourth century (Figs. 54-55). One of these *stelai* was inscribed ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟ, "of Amphiaraos," and ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΟ, "of Amphilochos;" the labels—possessive genitives—designate which part of the altar was appropriate for sacrifice to Amphiaraos and his son, Amphilochos (Fig.54). That they date from the earlier fourth century is suggested by the use of O in the genitive singular as the grapheme for OY.[198] A second *stele* was also found, inscribed "of Hestia" (Fig. 55). These *stelai* reveal the compartmentalization of the Amphiareion's altar during the Classical period, a peculiarity also noted by Pausanias on his visit to the sanctuary in the mid-second century CE:

> παρέχεται δὲ ὁ βωμὸς μέρη· τὸ μὲν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Παιῶνος, τὸ δὲ ἥρωσι καὶ ἡρώων ἀνεῖται γυναιξί, τρίτον δὲ Ἑστίας καὶ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχου· Ἀλκμαίων δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐς Ἐριφύλην ἔργον οὔτε ἐν Ἀμφιαράου τινά, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀμφιλόχῳ τιμὴν ἔχει. τετάρτη δέ ἐστι τοῦ βωμοῦ μοῖρα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πανακείας, ἔτι δὲ Ἰασοῦς καὶ Ὑγείας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Παιωνίας: πέμπτη δὲ πεποίηται νύμφαις καὶ Πανὶ καὶ ποταμοῖς Ἀχελῴῳ καὶ Κηφισῷ.
>
> "The altar [of Amphiaraos] has parts: one is of Herakles and Zeus and Apollo the Healer; another is given over to the heroes and to the wives of the heroes; the third is of Hestia and Hermes and Amphiaraos and of the children of Amphilochos; But Alkmaion, on account of his action with respect to Eriphyle, has honor neither in [the temple of] Amphiaraos nor alongside Amphilochos. The fourth part of the altar is of Aphrodite and Panakeia, and also to Iaso, Hygieia, and Athena the Healer. And the fifth has been made over to the Nymphs and Pan and to the rivers Acheloos and Kephisos."
>
> Paus. 1.34.3

Pausanias notes that the altar was divided into five parts, and dedicated to the following groups of divinities: (1) Herakles, Zeus and Apollo the Healer (Παιών) (2) the Heroes and Heroes' wives (3) Hestia, Hermes, Amphiaraos, and of the children of Amphilochos (4)

[198] ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟ | ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΟ: genitive singulars, with O used as grapheme of OY. Threatte notes that, in public Attic inscriptions, the orthography is standardized in favor of OY for original [o·] and the diphthong [oᵘ] by around 350 BCE, with OY developing sporadically alongside the Ionic script in the period between 403/2-376/5 BCE (Threatte 1980 v.1, pp.178, 238-261, esp. 13.00-13.02). These trends in the orthography of public inscriptions would suggest a date in the first half of the fourth-century, at the latest, assuming that they were in fact "Athenian" commissions, rather than Oropian or Boiotian ones. Even in the latter case, however, Threatte notes that Boeotia adopted the Ionic script by the fourth century (p.27). This is a sounder basis for dating the inscription than letter-forms, which Petrakos initially used to date the stele to the fourth century.

Aphrodite, Panakea, Iaso, Hygeia, and Athena the Healer (Παιωνία) and (5) the Nymphs and Pan and the rivers Acheloos and Kephisos. This description reveals that numerous gods and heroes were receiving cult within the sanctuary of Amphiaraos by the Roman period; it also sheds light on earlier material remains, namely the *stelai*, from the Classical sanctuary. The "groupings" of divinities encountered by Pausanias on the large altar appear to have been arranged differently during the Classical period, as shown by the separate Classical *stelai* to "Amphiaraos | Amphilochos" and "Hestia." Yet the fact that these three deities appear on the altar during Pausanias' day—and that he describes the altar as divided into parts—is truly a close alignment of the Classical architectural remains and the written account by an Imperial eyewitness. In other words, the two *stelai* discussed above complement the description of Pausanias, and show that in addition to Amphiaraos, both Amphilochos and Hestia were worshipped in the fourth century BCE, just as they were in the second century CE.[199]

Along with these stelai, Pausanias' observations are corroborated by statuary and votive reliefs of the Classical period. Large statues of Herakles (Fig. 56) and Hygeia (Fig. 57) were recovered from the sanctuary, in addition to votive reliefs depicting Apollo (Fig. 58), the Nymphs (Fig. 59), a hero and his female consort (Fig. 60; likely corresponding to the ἠρώων γυναιξί worshipped on the altar), and Pan (Fig. 61, behind a jagged crag with Amphiaraos and Hygieia). These finds show that during the Classical period, Amphiaraos was in fact receiving cult alongside numerous other deities at Oropos.

Why was Amphiaraos paired with these deities? And why were the deities grouped as they were? These questions have not yet been asked or considered by modern scholarship. Though attempting to do so here in any great depth would be beyond the scope of this project, I suggest a correlation between the above deities and Amphiaraos' new

[199] Interestingly, Pausanias also notes that there was an altar to Amphilochos in Athens (1.34.3).

identity as a healer at Oropos. While I hope to further develop this topic into a future project, for the time being I observe the following connections. The first group of deities on the altar—Herakles, Zeus, and Apollo the Healer—formed a triad of "civic" males associated with matters much broader than the realm of health, but which still subsumed it. A speech by Demosthenes underscores this notion, quoting a Delphic oracle that advised the Athenians "on health matters, sacrifice and pray to the Highest Zeus, Herakles, and Protecting Apollo;" delivered in 348 BCE but referencing an earlier oracle, this oration shows that these deities served as something of a protective triad in Attica at least during the late Classical period.[200] Herakles himself was popular as a healer in Attica and beyond, while Zeus and Apollo were fitting civic deities to associate with health as they were all-powerful and ubiquitous, ensuring the welfare of all citizens and the greater Athenian *demos*.[201] Furthermore, in the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos Apollo was worshipped specifically under the epithet Παιών, which channeled his aptitude in matters of healing (cf. Athens' dedication to Apollo the Healer on Delos during the 420s, section 1.1 above).

Connections between Amphiaraos and the other deities who received worship on the sanctuary's altar can be found elsewhere. Inscriptions reveal that ritual dining took place at Oropos;[202] it is not surprising, therefore, that Amphiaraos shared an altar with Group Two, "the Heroes and the Wives of the Heroes." The fourth group listed on the altar, Aphrodite, Panacea, Iaso, Hygeia, and Athena the Healer, are clearly all female and associated with the world of healing. Panacea, Iaso, and Hygeia are all personifications of various aspects of health—whose names translate something to the effect of "All-Heal," "Healing" and "Health", respectively—and who commonly appear in the retinue of the Attic

[200] Dem. 21. 52. Parke & Wormell (1956 I, pp.337-8) date the oracle to shortly before the speech of Demosthenes; see too Fontenrose 1978, pp.187-8, 253; Kearns 1989, p.14-5.
[201] Parker 2005, p.412; Woodford 1971, pp.211-225; Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 501; Apollo Prostaterios received regular sacrifices by the prytaneis in Hellenistic Athens (Wycherley 1957, pp.53-6; Kearns 1989, pp.14-15).
[202] *LSCG* 69, see Appendix 1.6.

Asklepios.[203] Including these divinities on the altar shows that the Oropian cult was making efforts to immerse Amphiaraos in the world of healing, and that it was doing so through shared altars and sanctuary ritual. Finally it can also be argued that, like Pan and the Nymphs (Group Five), Amphiaraos was something of a liminal figure. The Amphiareion at Oropos was an extra-urban sanctuary, far from Athens and distant from the Classical city of Oropos; in terms of setting, the *temenos* was set within a wooded, rustic ravine beside a stream. Just as Pan frequented caves—areas neither above ground nor part of the underworld—so too was Amphiaraos mythologically associated with fissures and crags; he was "hidden" within the earth after the battle against Thebes; and like the Nymphs, Amphiaraos had a special connection to the spring at Oropos.[204]

The divided altar served to reinforce Amphiaraos' mythological identity as a revered seer, but it also bolstered his new cultic role as a healing hero—eventually a healing god—and a civic hero important to the Athenian state. By surrounding him with more "established" healing deities, his slim resume as a healer was enhanced by his association with figures like Apollo Παιών, Panakea, Iaso, Hygeia, and Athena Παιωνία. This effort to "legitimize" Amphiaraos' nascent healer-identity by linking him with more "reputable" healers recalls a similar but earlier pattern from Epidauros. When Asklepios was brought to Epidauros, he was linked with Apollo Maleatas, who had been worshipped at Epidauros since at least the early sixth century.[205] In Homeric times, Apollo was the sender and diverter of disease, while Asklepios was simply a well-known mortal physician;[206] yet by pairing Asklepios, a fledgling mortal healer, with Apollo, Asklepios' identity as a healer was bolstered through his connection with the god of health and disease. Asklepios eventually became the premier deity worshipped at Epidauros, but offering patterns show that this

[203] Shapiro 1993, p.195.
[204] Pind. *Nem*. 9.16, Paus. 1.34.2.
[205] On Mt. Kynourtion: Lambrinoudakis 1981, pp.59-65; Mee and Spawforth 2001, pp.210-212.
[206] Hom. *Il*. 1.55-60; Hom. *Il*. 4. 194-6.

was not always the case; Apollo and Asklepios were worshipped side by side at least through the fifth century BCE, before Asklepios began to gain cultic ascendancy.[207] To return to the case of Amphiaraos at Oropos, the inclusion of other deities long-worshipped and popular in Attica—such as Pan, Herakles, Aphrodite, and the river god Kephisos—similarly helped integrate the non-Attic Amphiaraos into the Athenian cultic landscape. The repeated, ritualized act of sacrifice would have molded the minds of worshippers and forged links between the deities sharing the *temenos*, regardless of how subconsciously the ritual actions were performed. Sacrifices made on shared altars, such as that in the Amphiareion, reveal associations and connections perceived among the gods by their worshippers; these *sunnaoi theoi*—personifications or otherwise—could affect or color the identity of the "primary" deity to whom the sanctuary belonged, in this case Amphiaraos. The same mechanisms can be seen at work in the early cults of Asklepios in the Piraeus and the south slope Asklepieion.[208] Sanctuary ritual, especially sacrifice to Athenian divinities and personifications of health already popular within Attica, thus helped ease and integrate Amphiaraos into the Athenian pantheon.

Apparent in the compartmentalized altar, shared sacrifice, statuary, and votive reliefs, these mechanisms of cult integration played out, too, on smaller portable objects. For example, little rectangular lead strips have been recovered from the sanctuary, depicting the head of Amphiaraos on the left, compositionally balanced by the head of Hygeia on the right (Fig. 62).[209] Petrakos understands the strips as entrance tickets admitting worshippers into the sanctuary (or the incubation hall), or possibly as receipts given to worshippers after they set up a dedication. The objects read "Sanctuary of Amphiaraos," and below, in smaller letters, the name "Hygeia." The high quantity and low

[207] Tomlinson 1983; Lambrinoudakis 1981, pp.59-65.
[208] Lamont 2015.
[209] Athens NAM 14829,14915, 15084; Petrakos 1968, p.126.

quality of these pieces suggest the use of molds and production techniques for large-scale production; they also show how closely Hygeia was aligned with Amphiaraos at Oropos, despite the fact that Amphiaraos had no prior mythological or cultic connection to the world of healing.[210] Just as Aristophanes described the personification of healing, Iaso, as the daughter of Amphiaraos, so too was Hygieia (as the personification of health) joined to Amphiaraos at Oropos, visually and ritually. The sanctuary's material remains—architecture, votive reliefs, statuary, and even inscribed lead tickets—illuminate the methods by which Amphiaraos came to assume the identity of a healing hero in his Oropian sanctuary during the late fifth century BCE.

3.4.7 Regulations and Festivals within the Classical Amphiareion

Inscriptions from the Classical Amphiareion help narrate the experiences of sanctuary visitors, further illuminating the sorts of activities that filled the architectural spaces discussed above. The most remarkable is *IG* VII 277, the *lex sacra* recovered in the heart of the early sanctuary, in the region between the large altar and the drain (*LSCG* 69, Appendix 1.6).[211] Dating to c.387/6 BCE, the inscription details the protocol and expectations of priests, *neokoroi*, and visitors to the sanctuary with regard to healing, sacrifice, and overnight incubation.

First, sanctuary administration. Two figures appear to have played a key role in the day-to-day workings of the sanctuary: a non-resident priest and a resident caretaker or *neokoros* (ll.2-8). The priest was required to be present within the sanctuary from "when winter has ended until the season of plowing, not being absent for more than three days,

[210] Within Attica, Hygieia seems to have been something of a "free agent," appearing alongside other Attic healers such as Asklepios and Amynos; that she appears on admission tickets to the Amphiareion shows just how integral a role she played within the sanctuary at Oropos, helping to associate Amphiaraos with healing.
[211] *IG* VII 277= *LSCG* 69. Leonardos *AE* 1885, pp.93-98 no. 10; preferring a date of 411-402 BCE, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1886, pp.91-115.

and to stay in the precinct for no less than ten days each month" (ll. 2-4). It has been noted how the sanctuary's liminal (or perhaps just inclusive) identity is reflected in this clause, which references time according to season rather than Athenian Archon year, or a sacred calendar specific to a single polis; the *lex* would be applicable, therefore, in instances of Boiotian *and* Attic control, as well as during rare windows of Oropian autonomy.[212] The priest and *neokoros* appear to have held judicial responsibilities, and also oversaw the payment of fines and fees within the sanctuary whenever an offence was committed (ll.9-13). Fines were to be deposited εἰς τὸν θησαυρόν, as was the incubation fee of "nine obols of good silver" paid by those seeking θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (l.13, 23, 40). The fee of nine obols seems to have replaced an earlier rate of one Boiotian drachma; the erasure suggests that this sacred law remained in effect for a significant period of time, with alterations made as time passed and prices increased.[213] If the priest was present within the precinct, he would pray-over and likely perform the sacrifice upon the altar; when absent, however, the ritual could proceed with each worshipper making "his own prayers for himself at the sacrifice" (ll.27-9). This distinction in the autonomy of sacrifice was only drawn in the case of private sacrifices; during public sacrifices—on festival days, for example—the priest was to make the prayers. The sacrifice of any sort of animal was permitted, though the skins were to be kept by the sanctuary, and all meat had to be consumed within the precinct (ll.29-32);[214] this suggests the presence of facilities for ritual dining, and perhaps nearby industry for the processing and tanning of animal hides. In (partial) payment for his services, the priest was awarded the shoulder of sacrificial victims (ll.32-6).

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[212] Rhodes and Osborne 2007, p. 132.
[213] Petropoulou 1981, pp.42-57.
[214] The sacrifice of any animal whatsoever during the Classical period contrasts with Pausanias' statement that incubants were to sacrifice "a ram on whose skin they will lie down to sleep" (1.34.5). The inscription has here been edited, and the original clause is unclear; under Lykourgos the Athenians were selling the skins of the sacrificed animals, with at least some of the funds funneling back into the Amphiareion to defray spending costs (*IG* II² 1469; *IG* II² 333.21). For an expert treatment of ritual sacrifice within the Amphiareion, see Lupu 2003 and Petropoulou 1981.

The inscription also lists the requirements for those seeking to incubate within the sanctuary (l. 36, ἐγκαθεύδειν). The *neokoros* would write the name of the incubant on a public board, ἐν πετεύροι, after the incubation fee was paid; the incubant's name was recorded along with the city from which he came (ll.39-46). After noting that men and women were to sleep separately in the *koimeterion* (ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητηρείοι, ll.43-44), the inscription largely breaks off; the remaining fragments suggest that the *lex* continued, however, with additional regulations relating to the structure referred to as the *koimeterion* (l.47, 51-2, 54), the deity himself (l.48), and the incubation process (ll.47-8, 49; would that we had these latter clauses..!)

The inscription mentions an occasion on which victims are sacrificed at public expense (ll.34-5); this can perhaps be understood as one of the earliest attestations of the Amphiaraia festival, which was greatly enlarged and expanded during the Lykourgan period of Athenian control. By late Classical times the Amphiareia festival was penteteric, occuring every four years like the Olympic or Panathenaic cycles (with inclusive Greek counting); it included a procession along with athletic, equestrian, and musical competitions.[215] This complex festival warrants its own study, and for the time being I provide only a brief discussion of a single athletic event that seems to have featured prominently within the festival's games, the *apobates* race. This race was among the showiest of all athletic events, and required both gymnastic and equestrian prowess; it included a contest in which armed warriors jumped down from chariots (driven by charioteers) while holding shields, and then ran alongside the chariots, trying to overtake and remount them.[216] This event seems

[215] With possibly a smaller festival occurring annually, a sort of Lesser Amphiareia. *IG* VII 4253-4; *Ath. Pol.* 54.7.
[216] Responding to the presence of both hoplite and chariot elements, Gardiner suggests that the event (anachronistically) preserved traditions of Homeric warfare in which heroes were driven in a chariot to the battle and dismounted to engage, before remounting again for pursuit (Gardiner 1910, pp.237-8). Depictions of this competition survive in Attic vase painting and sculpted relief; it is thought that the *apobates* race was a uniquely Attic competition, and likely a tribal one during the Greater Panathenaia festival: Neils & Schultz 2012, p. 195; Kyle 1987, p.188; Parker 1996, p.147 fn.101; Crowther 1991, pp.174-6. See Plut. *Phoc.* 20.1, and

to have been one of the earliest competitions included within the festival, established as early as the late fifth or early fourth century BCE.[217] Fitting dedications to a warrior-hero such as Amphiaraos, two marble reliefs depicting this competition have been recovered from the sanctuary of Amphiaraos, the earliest of which have been stylistically dated to the late fifth century BCE.[218] If the votive reliefs commemorate races associated with the Amphiareia festival, then this suggests that the early cult did indeed host large-scale games well before the Lykourgan reorganization; as the *apobates* race also seems to have been a uniquely Attic competition, and was also held at the Panathenaic festival, the reliefs likely date from a period of Athenian control of the sanctuary (and administration of the games).[219] This uniquely Athenian contest was held both in central Athens during the Greater Panathenaia and also on the frontier of Oropos during the Amphiareia festival; this suggests that these games were a way of tying the periphery back to the Athenian center through a shared, culturally Athenian athletic competition. Not only was the cult of Amphiaraos functioning as a locus of healing at Oropos by the late fifth century BCE, but it also hosted a festival that seemed to anchor the Amphiareion and the disputed Oropia within the Athenian cultural sphere.

3.4.8 Conclusion

This section aimed to provide an overview of the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos through the collation of primary and secondary sources across a variety of media. What emerges is a glimpse of not just sacred architecture, but the activities of visitors within the Classical

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Harpocration's reference s.v. ἀποβάτης, with «Boeotia» likely referring to the competitions at Oropos during the Amphiareia festival.

[217] Attested in *IG* VII 4254.18 (*I.Oropos* 298.18). Two late fifth century BCE apobates reliefs: *I.Oropos* 335=*SEG* 1.131, found within the sanctuary behind the baths (Leonardos, *ΠΑΕ* 1886, p.56). See too Petrakos 1968 p.121 no.16; *LIMC* s.v. *Amphiaraos*, 702, no.67; Athens NAM 1391 (Petrakos 1968, p.121 no.17).

[218] See Ghini-Tsofopoulou 2000 *BCH* 124 (2), p.783; *AD* 50 (1995) [2000] B'1, p.58-60.

[219] That the *apobates* competition was uniquely Attic, see Crowther 1991, pp. 174-6, and Harpocration s.v. ἀποβάτης, where the reference to Boiotia is likely the Oropian sanctuary (Parker 1996, p.151 fn. 23).

sanctuary. The cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos was a popular, bustling sanctuary with traceable narratives of individual healing experiences. A collation and review of the archaeological material suggests that the only remains dating the fifth century are two altars, the "theater of the altar," the sacred spring, a Classical incubation hall, and a small *naos*-like structure. The earliest part of the sanctuary first developed around the sacred spring but gradually spread eastward as the sanctuary expanded. Fragments of Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos*, sculpted votive reliefs, and so-called *leges sacrae* further illuminate the workings of the cult in its earliest years, and suggest that the sanctuary was complex and well developed by the late fifth century BCE.

Furthermore, it seems possible that as the cult expanded, major developments in sanctuary architecture and layout corresponded to the shifting hegemons vying for regional control of the Oropia, particularly during the fourth century BCE. What better agent than Thebes, for example, to initiate the construction of a newer, bigger temple to Amphiaraos—in a distinct architectural style—upon regaining control of the sanctuary in 366 BCE? It seems plausible, in other words, for regional powers to have asserted their presence in the sanctuary with distinct architectural forms and embellishments. Now that the cult has been examined with respect to the history of the region and sanctuary architecture, scenarios surrounding its foundation will be considered; at the heart of the matter are questions of which *polis*, region, or individual was responsible for founding the Oropian sanctuary of Amphiaraos, and *why* Amphiaraos came to preside over a healing cult there.

3.5 Foundation Scenarios: the Oropian Amphiareion

Material, epigraphic, and literary sources work together to illuminate the early sanctuary of Amphiaraos, which by the late fifth century BCE was functioning as a healing cult at Oropos.

Deviating now from primary sources and archaeological reports, this section engages—as responsibly as possible—in hypothetical scenarios of the cult's murky foundation. It aims to uncover the agent or agents responsible for first establishing the cult at Oropos. It is suggested here that the establishment of the Amphiareion at Oropos was ultimately an Athenian undertaking in an Athenian-controlled territory, and that Amphiaraos' new identity as a healing deity was yet another manifestation of the Athenian "healing cult phenomenon" outlined in Section II of this dissertation. This scenario is, I believe, the easiest way to make sense of the evidence at hand (3.5.3); this view is also upheld by Petrakos, Travlos, Cosmopoulos, Parker, and Sineux.[220] It involves accepting the existence of (at least) two sanctuaries of Amphiaraos prior to the fourth century BCE: an Archaic oracular cult in or near Thebes, and a Classical iatromantic one at Oropos.

In an attempt to be as thorough as possible, other scenarios—with which I do not necessarily agree—are also presented and explored in some detail, including that the Oropian Amphiareion was a Theban cult foundation, rather than an Athenian one (3.5.2). This stance is upheld by scholars as prominent as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Schachter; it argues for the existence of a single sanctuary of Amphiaraos. In other words, the Archaic Amphiareion that was visited by the agents of Kroisos and Mys was in fact the very same sanctuary at Oropos. Bearzot also understands the sanctuary at Oropos to have been a Theban foundation, but accepts the existence of an earlier oracular cult in the vicinity of Thebes and a later (Theban-founded one) at Oropos.[221] Additionally, a third foundation scenario is presented in which the sanctuary was established by local Oropian agency (3.5.1), in spite of the external hegemonies patrolling the region during the Classical period (Athens, Thebes, Eretria). These three scenarios are entertained and presented here, fully

[220] Petrakos 1968, pp. 18, 22, 66-67; Travlos 1988, p.301; Cosmopoulos 2001; Parker 1998, p.146; Sineux 2007 *passim*.
[221] Bearzot 1987, pp.93-96.

acknowledging that a new archaeological or epigraphic discovery could, at any time, prove or invalidate one theory over the others. It is my intention that the previous sections remain untainted by hypotheticals and propositions; they should be impartial and contribute only hard "data" for those interested in the region of Oropos and its sanctuary of Amphiaraos. Here, however, I offer my input and opinion, and ask keenly for the reader's own.

3.5.1 Foundation Scenario 1: A Native Oropian Foundation

The first foundation scenario for the cult of Amphiaraos is purely hypothetical, with nothing to commend or disprove it. This scenario is one in which the residents of Oropos, native Oropians and whoever else was living there at the time, would have founded the sanctuary of Amphiaraos on their own initiative. As discussed above, the Oropia came under Athenian control by the mid-fifth century BCE at the latest, with an earlier timeline for Athenian administration entirely possible (Part 3.3). But maybe we need not assume that the cult was founded by Athenian initiative simply because the region was controlled by Athens. Perhaps the inhabitants of Oropos first established the sanctuary of Amphiaraos, a mythical hero with whom they were familiar from both the epic tradition and the oracle at Thebes, as their own local incubation cult in the southeastern part of their territory. As in the case of Athens' kleruchies—where cultural influence can be seen to run in more than one direction with regard to religious ritual and local cults (Part 1.1)—it is possible that the sanctuary of Amphiaraos could have resulted from the blending of Oropian, Theban, and Athenian influences in an ethnically diverse region, one ever entrenched in regional power struggles. Thus an early Theban oracular cult, which was inaccessible to Thebans themselves, took on the traits of an Athenian healing sanctuary during a time in which the Oropia was undergoing degrees of "Atticization" during the fifth century. It is, of course, a short step

from an oracular cult to a healing one, as ritualized incubation and a degree of prophecy is required by both. Amphiaraos at Oropos was both a seer and a healer, accompanied in cult by personifications known from contemporary Attic healing sanctuaries. As a hybridized hero, then, Amphiaraos at Oropos could have held appeal to local Oropians, Thebans, and Athenians alike, all of whom would have utilized the sanctuary at different times throughout the Classical period. I know of no scholars who argue for this, or specific material, literary, or epigraphic evidence to suit this scenario; I introduce it here only to flag the possibility. Even if this were the case—that local Oropian inhabitants founded the Amphiareion—it is hard to envision a scenario in which they would not have needed the approval of their regional fifth century hegemon, Athens.

3.5.2 Foundation Scenario 2: A Theban Foundation

Secondly, let us consider an alternative foundation scenario, in which Thebes was the founding agent for the Oropian Amphiareion. Such a scenario is not without its supporters. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, scholars as prominent as U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and F. Dürrbach argued that the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos dated to the Archaic period, and was in fact the very cult referenced by Herodotus.[222] There was, in other words, only *one* incubation cult of Amphiaraos, and it was known to archaeology and located at Oropos. More recently Albert Schachter, that authority on all cults Boiotian, has also argued in favor of the Amphiareion at Oropos being a Theban cult foundation;[223] thus, the oracular cult known to Herodotus was located at Oropos, and there was never a cult transfer or second sanctuary—the cult at Oropos was an old Boiotian one, which by the early fifth century had passed out of Theban control and into Athenian hands along with the

[222] von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1886, p.104; Dürrbach 1890, pp.95-99.
[223] Schachter 1982, p.23.

territory of Oropos. The issue of why the shrine was located at Oropos, so far from Thebes, and not mentioned by name by Herodotus (who was quite familiar with Oropos, having cited it several times in other contexts), is not addressed.

What Schachter at least finds undeniable is that by the late fifth century BCE, the cult at Oropos was of an entirely *different* nature than the Archaic oracular shrine; he ascribes the cult's specialization in healing to an Athenian intervention during the Peloponnesian War, and also the Thucydidean plague of 429-425 BCE.[224] What happened, then, at Oropos in the late fifth century was the transformation of a mantic god into a healing one.[225] Thus the fact that the Oropian Amphiaraos was remembered primarily as a healing god does not mean that he was a healing god from the beginning; this—the two different types of cult—consequently does not prove that the Theban oracular cult was a separate sanctuary from the healing shrine at Oropos. Such is Schachter's argument, and it is addressed below.

Lastly, I briefly introduce the argument of Cinzia Bearzot, though only to dismiss it soon after. Bearzot also understands the cult at Oropos to have been a Theban foundation, but unlike Schachter understands there to have been *two* sanctuaries dedicated to Amphiaraos: an earlier one near Thebes, and a later one at Oropos. In "Problemi del confine attico-beotico: la rivendicazione tebana di Oropo," Bearzot ascribes the cult's foundation at Oropos to a Theban attempt to "Boiotianize" the region.[226] In her article, she argues that the Oropian cult was planted by Thebes in Oropos in order to strengthen the religious and cultural ties between Oropos and Boiotia, and provide a (Theban) basis for claiming the

[224] Schachter 1982, p.23.
[225] Other examples of this sort of change are known, with the cult of Zeus at Olympia a prime example: we now understand that early Olympia was an important oracular shrine, but by the Classical period it had transformed into something different (because of the Games primarily). Few, if any, students of Greek religion would name Olympia as a major oracular center of the ancient world if pushed, but this was indeed the sort of cult it started off as. Zeus never became a healing deity, of course, but the example shows the malleability inherent in the cultic identities of even the most prominent of deities. I thank Nikolaos Papazarkadas for this helpful comparandum and discussion.
[226] Bearzot 1987, p.96.

Oropia as a land traditionally Boiotian.[227] The problem with Bearzot's "problem" is that Oropos was under Euboian and Athenian—not Theban—influence for the majority of its history before the year 411;[228] Pausanias' claim that the territory of Oropos was "Boeotian from the beginning" is both late and vague, and cannot be reconciled with Nikokrates' account or the archaeological material from the Iron Age settlement.[229] Even after the Battle of Delion in 424, furthermore, Thucydides explicitly notes that Oropos belonged to Athens.

The advantage of this theory, then, is that it explains *why* there was a cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos, when Athens had no relation whatsoever to Amphiaraos in myth or cult. Yet as I see it, the biggest problem in ascribing Theban agency to the foundation of the Oropian cult is the lack of material evidence from the Archaic and early Classical periods; not a scrap of architecture, nor any inscriptions or votives remain from this supposedly early Oropian cult. There is nothing from the sanctuary that indisputably dates before the end of the fifth century, according to all excavation reports;[230] nor do any literary sources mention an Oropian Amphiareion until 414 BCE. In positing an earlier Theban-founded sanctuary, Schachter must combat the claims of Dörpfeld, Leonardos, Petrakos et al. that there is no material from the site that can be dated prior to the period of Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos*; the surviving monuments and votives are contemporary with the play, also dating to the last quarter of the fifth c. BCE. Surely a renowned oracular sanctuary, grouped alongside those of Apollo at Delphi and Didyma (that housed the lavish dedications of Kroisos, even!) would have left *some* trace in the archaeological record were it extant at Oropos for 130 years prior to 420 BCE. But this is the problem—there is no mention or trace, anywhere, of a sanctuary before the late fifth century.

[227] Bearzot 1987, p.93-96.
[228] As discussed above, see Section 3.3.
[229] Paus. 1.34.1; Nikokrates: *FGrH* 376 F I.
[230] Again, the herm of Strombichos was found in a Hellenistic context, as discussed above.

There are of course earlier references to *a* cult of Amphiaraos, made famous by the oracular adventures of Kroisos and Mys as reported by Herodotus; so surely one existed during the Archaic period. But Herodotus never mentions that the cult was located at Oropos; rather, he notes that the oracle of Amphiaraos was somewhere near Thebes; the reasons why this cult can be said, with a degree of certainty, to be located at Thebes are discussed above in section 3.1. Following Herodotus, I would suggest that the original, oracular cult of Amphiaraos was absolutely a Theban one, situated somewhere close to Thebes. This was the sanctuary known to Kroisos, Mys, and Herodotus; the Amphiareion at Oropos has yielded no material even close to this early date—with the possible exception of a headless herm found in the later theater, *ex situ*—surely because the sanctuary was not yet extant. It is clear, furthermore, that the Theban Amphiareion was in a state of dilapidation by Herodotus' own day; he even notes that the Amphiareion's lavish dedications were kept not on site, but rather in the Theban Ismenion. The Classical sanctuary, unknown to Herodotus because of its foundation in the last quarter of the fifth century, was the iatromantic one at Oropos.

3.5.3 Foundation Scenario 3: Athenian Foundation

Lastly, an Athenian cult foundation. I caution that this scenario is the one I consider the most plausible, and lobby for it accordingly. This is the easiest way to read the evidence, it would seem, on the simple basis of the earliest datable archaeological material from the sanctuary. In the broadest terms, the sanctuary first emerges in the literary and archaeological records at the same time: the last quarter of the fifth century, during a period in which Oropos was quite unavoidably under Athenian control (discussed in section 3.3

above.) The sanctuary was located along a major road connecting central Athens to the Attic coast just north of the sanctuary, and was not connected to Thebes in any comparable way; in this sense, the precinct seems to have been situated along an overland route that held significance to Athens alone, as it was founded with a face to Athens.

More specifically, it seems clear that the Oropian sanctuary was founded sometime before 414 BCE on the basis of Aristophanes' fragmentary *Amphiaraos*, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the Oropian sanctuary; it also portrays Amphiaraos as presiding over a healing cult by this point in time, with Iaso by his side. Independently, the dates assigned to the earliest physical remains from the site—the two altars and the theater of the altar—also fall, if more broadly, within the last quarter of the fifth century BCE. This (or similar) architectural infrastructure was likely in place by the time of the play's performance in 414 BCE, as the cult must have been known to the Athenian audience for the comedy to hold topical relevance. Less precise, but maintaining a pre-414 BCE foundation in a more general way, is *IG* VII 277 of the early fourth century (Appendix 1.6), which reveals a complex regional sanctuary that must have been in operation for some time prior to the codification of these rules and regulations (cf. *SEG* 31.415-6). Additionally, some of the earliest votives from the sanctuary are the so-called *apobates* reliefs, which are stylistically dated to the late fifth century and thought to depict a uniquely Athenian athletic competition; thus they, too, should weigh-in on the side of an Athenian foundation in the fifth century BCE.

Can we be more precise about *when* the cult may first have been founded? Following Sineux, I believe that we can.[231] A clue lies in the events surrounding the Battle of Delion in 424 BCE, and a close reading of Thucydides 4.89-101. Toward the beginning of this battle Thucydides reports that the Athenians had entered and fortified the temple of Apollo at

[231] Sineux 2007, pp.91-97.

Delion, a precinct sacred to the Boiotians; in fact, the Boiotians sent a herald to the Athenians, demanding that they depart immediately from the temple as, even in times of war, Greeks abstained from disturbing temples and sacred *temene*. With a response bordering upon the hubristic, the Athenians refused, saying, "…according to Hellenic practice, they who were masters of the land, whether much or little, invariably had possession of the temples, to which they were bound to a show the customary reverence, but in such ways only as were possible."[232] So grave was this concern that when the Athenians asked for permission to retrieve their war dead, the Boiotians refused unless the Athenians left the precinct of Apollo at Delion.[233] Thucydides twice states in this passage that Oropos was still in the possession of Athens during the Battle of Delion in 424 BCE.[234]

The Battle of Delion proved a pivotal moment for the frontier dividing Attica and Boiotia; it was there that Athens lost her general Hippokrates, close to 1,000 hoplites, in addition to a number of light-armed troops and baggage carriers.[235] The Battle of Delion in 424 thus revealed the Thebans to be a very serious threat to the northeastern frontier of Attica; though Athens still retained Oropos after the Battle of Delion, the border was unstable, the Theban threat closer than before. Sineux suggests that Athens understood this event as a warning—the Boiotians were indeed closing in upon Oropos, a territory whose integration into Attica had always been precarious at best.[236] It was likely in this climate—after the Athenian defeat at Delion, and in the face of the waxing Boiotian threat along the border—that Athens sought to consolidate control over the frontier, which had now receded to Oropos. And so, perhaps Athens turned to Amphiaraos—a hero valiant in battle and known for attacking the city of Thebes—whose cult would provide a foothold in the

[232] Thuc. 4.97-8.
[233] Thuc. 4.98, with overtures to Euripides' *Suppliants* noted above in 3.3.
[234] Thuc. 4.96, 4.99.
[235] Thuc. 4.101.
[236] Indeed, this is proven to be the case when in 411 BCE, the Boiotians succeed in initiating an Oropian revolt from Athens.

unstable Oropia in the years after 424 BCE. As Sineux notes, "[o]n comprend mieux dès lors que la virulence du sentiment antithébain qui s'épanouit à la fin de la guerre d'Archidamos n'est sans doute pas étrangère à l'introduction de culte d'Amphiaraos sur le territoire d'Oropos."[237] Not insignificant to this discussion is the city of Argos, with whom Athens was keen to ally herself after 421 BCE; Amphiaraos was after all an Argive hero, whose relationship to Thebes was troubled if not hostile.

Admittedly, the outlier to this fifth century Athenian foundation is the herm of Strombichos, which has been dated between 470-450 BCE.[238] However, the herm does not name the divinity to whom it was dedicated, and could have been dedicated to a deity other than Amphiaraos; it could even have been functional, once marking the roadway as an Athenian-controlled route, or perhaps it was brought to the sanctuary decades (or centuries) after it was produced, as indeed it was found in the Hellenistic theater. Even if we were to entertain the possibility that the herm of Strombichos is the earliest object from the sanctuary, and significantly earlier than all other material from the site, does a single herm an early-mid fifth century sanctuary make? I do not think so, and below suggest another possibility to help accommodate this loose end.

Even if Strombichos' rogue herm raises the sanctuary's foundation by several decades, all fifth century evidence for the Amphiareion at Oropos falls securely within the period of Athenian control of the Oropia. It is difficult to envision a scenario during the *Pentakontaiteia* or Peloponnesian War in which Thebes, for example, could have founded a cult behind enemy lines, so to speak. Alternatively, an Archaic Theban sanctuary at Oropos—visited by the agents of Kroisos—would surely have left *some* trace in the

[237] p.95: "we understand better, therefore, that the virulence of the anti-Theban sentiment that peeks at the end of the Archidamian War is probably not unrelated to the introduction of the cult of Amphiaraos to the territory of Oropos." Petropoulou similarly argues for an Athenian foundation between 420-414 BCE (1981, p.39).
[238] *IG* I^3 1476 = *I.Oropos* 334, see section 3.3 above. See Harrison 1965, p.121; for another herm of Strombichos that was standing on the Akropolis see Matthaiou 1990-1, pp.13-14 (dated c.470 BCE). Presumably this would be sufficient grounds for assuming the herm to have been of a votive rather than functional nature, though this truly difficult to know with any certainty.

archaeological record during a century of postulated cult activity (from c.550 BCE with Kroisos' dedications until c.425 BCE, when the first architectural remains emerge). But there is absolutely nothing from this period at Oropos (despite the herm). Rather, the Oropian Amphiareion is most easily understood as an Athenian cult foundation, or as a local foundation condoned by the Athenian state amongst a largely "Atticized" populace, during the late fifth century BCE. This is the period to which the earliest literary and *in situ* archaeological remains date. That the foundation took place in a disputed border region—guarded by an Athenian garrison and alongside an important overland route leading to Athens—suggests that the desire to control a disputed territory was a motivating factor in the cult's foundation. An Athenian establishment—which occurred in the same climate that gave rise to the other healing cults explored in Section II of this dissertation—also explains why Amphiaraos was worshipped at Oropos as a *healing* deity, who oversaw medical procedures and dispensed cure-regimes through ritualized incubation, rather than solely as an oracular cult figure. The Oropian Amphiareion is perhaps the most revealing example of this late fifth century "healing cult phenomenon" as its foundation occurred in a disputed border zone, and involved a clear shift in identity from a warrior-seer figure of Homeric vintage, previously unaffiliated with healing, to one specialized in matters of health and surrounded with Iaso, Hygieia, and other health-related personifications found in contemporary Attic healing cults.

It has been discussed *how* this shift happened "on the ground", so to speak, with Amphiaraos surrounded by heroes and deities associated with healing, including personifications of health such as Hygieia and Iaso. Such divinities helped integrate Amphiaraos (and the Amphiareion) into the Attic cultic landscape, while simultaneously ushering the seer into the world of healing. As discussed above, it also seems possible that the Attic appropriation of the non-Attic Amphiaraos was aimed at the assimilation of a

contiguous, disputed, non-Athenian territory. Amphiaraos was a hero mythologically hostile toward Thebes, with a troubled cult history there; in this way his cult held natural appeal to Athens, who fostered her own hostilities toward Thebes.

How, then, did the cult come to Oropos? One possible explanation comes from Strabo, who noted that the cult "was transferred to Oropos from Knopia, in accordance with an oracle."[239] Though he gives no reference to date, this follows a general pattern of Attic cult foundations—namely, the receiving of an oracle—as seen in two near contemporary cults of Asklepios in Athens.[240] Oracles played a large role in the foundation of new cults, as a way of legitimizing or condoning their establishment; it would hardly be surprising if the foundation of the Amphiareion followed on the heels of an oracle, especially during a time of great social duress.[241] It seems possible that Athens founded the sanctuary in the much the same way that she founded other healing cults during this period, and for the same constellation of reasons explored in Part I. In so founding this new cult, Amphiaraos inevitably took on a uniquely Athenian character, as one of several new Attic healing heroes.

One further question to consider is whether an earlier cult—perhaps just a small shrine or altar around the sacred spring at Oropos—existed on the site prior to Amphiaraos' arrival. This too would be in keeping with what we know of Attic healing cults, in that they often shared altars or *temene* with kindred deities, especially in their earliest years.[242] Could

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[239] Strab. 9.2.10.

[240] The cult of Asklepios on the south slope of the Akropolis, according to the restored text of the Telemachos Monument, and a precinct of Asklepios dedicated by an Athenian man named Demon came after a (Delphic?) oracle "The god instructs the people of Athens to dedicate the house of Demon and the garden next to it to Asklepios, and Demon himself shall be his priest. The priest Demon son of Demomeles of the deme of Paiania dedicated both his house and his garden, on the order of the god and on the occasion of the people of Athens granting him to be priest of Asklepios according to the oracle." *IG* II^2 4969.

[241] Hubbard associates Strabo's comment with fourth century BCE pro-Theban propaganda, created by the Amphiareion's priesthood during a period in which Thebes controlled the Oropian sanctuary: Hubbard 1992, p.106.

[242] For example, one cult of Asklepios in central Athens was first lodged in the City Eleusinion with Demeter and Kore, while another cult of Asklepios moved into (and shared) the *temenos* of Amynos. As discussed below, a second healing cult of Amphiaraos was established at the nearby Attic site of Rhamnous during the fourth century; Amphiaraos moved into the shrine of an earlier hero named Aristomachos, and the two received cult side by side until Amphiaraos came to edge-out the earlier Aristomachos (Pouilloux 1954, pp.93-102).

a similar scenario have played out at Oropos, with Athens "joining" the cult of Amphiaraos to that of an earlier, unknown god or hero in that location? This would make sense of the *two* fifth century altars around the spring, and could also explain the (stylistically) early herm of Strombichos. Alternatively, if the cult of Amphiaraos was founded on virgin soil in the fifth century, then it is possible that the natural setting was what led to the founding of the shrine there; the cavernous ravine and spring lent themselves to the mythological "reemergence" of Amphiaraos from the earth, and were important features of the cult (as confirmed by the writings of Pausanias, though decades later).

Furthermore, Pierre Sineux supports the notion of an Athenian cult foundation reasoning from an entirely different set of data, namely Euripidean tragedy.[243] He adeptly draws attention to Euripides' *Suppliants* of 423 BCE, wherein Theseus as king of Athens uses force to wage a "just" war against Thebes, one motivated by the defense of an interest shared by all Greeks—the retrieval of war dead after battle. Sineux keenly observes that within the *Suppliants*, Amphiaraos occupies a place apart from the other leaders; Theseus praises as exceptional the seer's (spared) fate, and emphasizes the disappearance of Amphiaraos' body into the depths of the earth.[244] In this context, the introduction of the cult of Amphiaraos at Athenian-held Oropos can be seen to participate in the adjustment of the tradition surrounding the *Seven Against Thebes*; it gave Athens an important role in the destiny of the expedition's most valiant hero, Amphiaraos himself. Appropriating the cult of the Theban hero Oedipos, as seen in Sophokles' *Oedipos at Kolonos*, seems a helpful sort of parallel. The cult was founded during a period in which Athens was at war with Thebes, and had suffered a severe setback at Delion that compromised the security of the border; it is at

[243] I encourage anyone interested in this topic to carefully read Sineux's book; his argument brims with nuance as he reads between the lines of Euripides' *Suppliants* to historically anchor the play in the events of the Archidamian War. He finds the play to respond to changes in the Athenian cultic landscape, a trope which is known to characterize so many of Euripides' plays from this period (e.g., *Iphigeneia at Tauris*, *Ion*; cf. Sophokles' *Oedipus at Kolonos*.)
[244] Eur. *Supp*. 926-927.

this time that the cult of Amphiaraos first appears on the Oropian frontier. The sanctuary provided an Attic foothold in a strategic region, while introducing a healing cult to northeastern Attica at a time in which they were taking root across the entirety of the Athenian *polis*.

Significant, too, in all of this is the relationship between Athens and Argos, both in historical times and in the plot of the *Suppliants*. In the *exodos*, Adrastos states that Argos will retain in memory the assistance offered by Athens; Athena then intervenes and has Adrastos vow that the Argives will never bear aggression toward Athens, and will help defend Athens in the event of attack:

> "Hear, Theseus, these words of Athena, what you must do that will benefit you. Do not give these bones to the children to carry to the land of Argos, letting them go so lightly; no, first take an oath of them that they will requite you and your city for your efforts. This oath Adrastus must swear, for as their king it is his right to take the oath for the whole realm of Argos. And this will be the oath: for the Argives never to lead on armor-clad troops to war against this land, and, if others come, to repel them. But if they violate their oath and come against the city, that the land of Argos may be miserably destroyed in turn."
>
> Eur. *Supp.* 1184-1195 (Trans. E. Coleridge)

Athena's words take the semblance of a vow. In this (less-than-subtle) message, echoes of Athenian diplomacy came into view, especially Athens' historical alliance with Argos at the end of the Archidamian War. The introduction of the cult of Amphiaraos thus also took place in a period when Athens was courting a political alliance with Argos; Sineux suggests that, in this way, the cult of Amphiaraos served as a symbolic message of Athenian diplomatic interests.[245] The establishment of a cult to the Argive Amphiaraos was thus also intended to court the favor of Argos—a gesture of high diplomacy—while flaunting this union and the "cult of the enemy" to Thebes. Sineux's interpretation sheds light on why Athens chose to

[245] Sineux 2007, p.97. Perhaps we can compare the fifth century arrival of the Thracian cult of Bendis in the Piraeus and Athens' timely political alliance with the king of Thrace, see Parker 1996, pp.170-5.

found a cult of Amphiaraos, rather than another cult of Asklepios or the *Heros Iatros* on the northeastern frontier.

Finally, what I ultimately understand to be the clearest indication that the foundation was an Athenian undertaking is the nature of the sanctuary at Oropos—it was primarily a healing cult. Amphiaraos takes on an entirely new identity at this site. Though an Argive hero with an Archaic oracular cult near Thebes, Amphiaraos was hostile toward Thebes, and Thebans could not access his oracular shrine, which sat in their own territory. The Oropian Amphiaraos was of a uniquely "Athenian" brand, in that his cult addressed issues of health and employed the same personifications of healing as the Attic cults of Asklepios and Amynos. Gone was the Homeric warrior and seer of the *Seven Against Thebes*; the Oropian Amphiaraos was undeniably a healing hero, surrounded on all fronts by personifications of health, and worshipped in ways nearly identical to those of the Attic Asklepios. Amphiaraos even adopts the iconography of Asklepios, with his long beard, slipping himation, and civic doctor's staff. As Pausanias notes, Amphiaraos never entirely lost his oracular function, but rather, his identity as the seer from the Seven Against Thebes lost its sharpness of outline in late fifth century Attica. The cult functioned as both an oracular *and* a healing sanctuary, at least during the Classical period; naturally, an oracular cult could lend itself nicely to a healing one as both cults hinged upon the rite of incubation. An Athenian initiative in the last quarter of the fifth century, after 424 but well before 414 BCE, is the best way to make sense of the cult's sudden emergence at Oropos.

3.5.4 Conclusion

I conclude this section, which aimed to explore possible foundation scenarios for the Amphiareion at Oropos, with some general observations. First, with regard to the cult's

establishment we can only discuss agency in the broadest of senses, i.e., at the *polis* level. It is entirely likely that the foundation was initiated by the incentive of an individual or a *genos* (c.f. Telemachos and the south slope Asklepieion, or the *orgeones* of Amynos), but the sources allow no such degree of visibility. Secondly, I want to stress that we should only seek a "single agent," as it were, for the cult's *foundation* in the fifth century; in later periods, when Athens and Thebes were not actively at war with one another, it seems entirely possible to envision the sacred space as utilized and shared by worshippers from several *poleis*. In other words, though Athens or Thebes might have controlled the sanctuary (and the Oropia) during certain time periods, we need not assume that they prohibited or excluded worshippers from other *poleis* from using the sanctuary. This was less likely to have been the case during the mid-late fifth century, however, when tensions were heightened between Athens and Thebes, and battles frequent across the Attic-Boiotian frontier during both the *Pentakontaiteia* and Peloponnesian War proper. But after 404 BCE, relations between Athens and Thebes improved almost immediately; the Athenian democrats were living in exile near to the border with Thebes, and were even given shelter as exiles by the Thebans.[246] After the war, it is likely that geographically diverse groups were utilizing the sanctuary, including residents of Oropos, Euboia, Attica, and Boiotia.[247] The sanctuary became a multivocal sacred space, one freely used by Greeks of various *poleis*; though the region of Oropos would continue as a disputed territory for the rest of its history, the sanctuary could well have been a space of coexistence for cities politically antagonistic.

That being said, I see no way around concluding this section in support of an initial Athenian foundation for the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos. This fits the extant material evidence, the appearance of the cult in Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos* of 414 BCE, and the

[246] Xen. *Hell*. 2.3; Nep. *Thr*.
[247] de Polignac 2011, pp. 93-105.

known historical chronology of the Oropia region; furthermore, it explains Amphiaraos' new and unprecedented identity as a healing hero. Surrounded by Iaso, Hygieia, Apollo Paian, and Athena Paian, Amphiaraos joined the fleet of Attic healers and healing cults that took root in the late fifth century; Amphiaraos' cult at Oropos can most easily be understood as part of this larger "healing cult phenomenon."

Part III: Conclusion

Part III concludes with a general summary, followed by some observations on the cult of Amphiaraos in Attica. In section 3.1, it was shown that the figure of Amphiaraos emerged in the mythological tradition as a seer and warrior, as one of the Seven Against Thebes in the earliest Greek literature. These traits remained consistent into the Classical period, and found expression "on the ground," as it were, in an oracular cult of Amphiaraos situated in the vicinity of Thebes. This oracle was peculiar in that Thebans were prohibited from accessing it; despite this, the oracle was famous throughout the Archaic world, with the agents of Kroisos and Mardonios receiving verifiably "accurate" prophesies from there. It is not surprising that, in his shrine near Thebes, Amphiaraos presided over an oracular cult; Amphiaraos was a seer in myth, and the region of Boiotia abounded in oracles—Bonnechere presents evidence for as many as 15 in Boiotia alone.[248]

Reference to a different *sort* of Amphiareion appears in the year 414 BCE in Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos*. Performed at the Lenaia festival before an exclusively Athenian audience, the comedy portrays Amphiaraos as presided over a *healing* cult by the late fifth century—despite having no mythological connection to the world of healing, Amphiaraos adopts the characteristics of his counterpart Asklepios. This healing cult at Oropos first emerges in the archaeological record at the same time, at the site of Oropos on the Attic frontier with Boiotia (section 3.2). A synthesized history shows the region of Oropos to have been one of the most contested territories in the Classical world; Oropos was often a regional pawn in the political landscapes of larger hegemonic powers, particularly Athens and Thebes. Oropos is shown to have been in Athenian control during the time in which the cult was established (3.3); using this as a point of departure, I ultimately argue for Athenian

[248] Bonnechere 1990, pp.53-65. See also Schachter 1967, pp.1-16. Here Schachter establishes a common "cult-type" that links male oracular figures to mountain tops and springs. The cult of Amphiaraos near Thebes was likely one such oracular figure, I would venture, keeping in character with so many other Boiotian oracular sanctuaries. Athens, on the other hand, had few of her own. What she did have were healing cults, and the nature of the iatromantic cult at Oropos intimates Athenian, rather than Boiotian underpinnings.

agency in the founding of the Oropian sanctuary (3.5). An examination of the material remains from this site, collated from reports that span a century of archaeological investigations, show the precinct to have been iatromantic in nature (3.4). Like the Theban shrine of Amphiaraos, the sanctuary at Oropos also relied upon ritualized incubation, though to a different end; at Oropos incubation provided the conduit through which divine remedies, prognoses, and healing—were made available (in addition, of course, to still providing oracles).[249] Both oracular and healing cults relied upon incubation to attain their ends, and the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos seamlessly blended aspects of both.

At Oropos Amphiaraos was ushered into the world of healing by way of shared altars, rituals, as well as personifications related to health. To this end, he was enveloped by a veritable "Who's Who" of Classical healing divinities on the sanctuary's shared altar: Apollo the Healer, Athena the Healer, Panakea, Iaso, and Hygieia. Amphiaraos was also paired with Hygieia on numerous portable objects and votive reliefs that have been recovered within the precinct. Across several media, Amphiaraos takes on the iconographic appearance of Asklepios with a bushy beard, himation, and staff. I suggest that Amphiaraos' "new identity," as it were, at Oropos can be understood as yet another manifestation of the "healing cult phenomenon" discussed in Part II of this dissertation, which happened in response to the developments and crises at work within Athenian society during the late fifth century BCE (Part I). Amphiaraos was deliberately coopted by Athens, not only in cult but also in myth (e.g., Euripides' *Suppliants*); this was likely because he was a hero traditionally hostile toward Thebes who accordingly appealed during the late fifth century, when Athens and Thebes were at war with one another. Yet in his cult at Oropos, the Athenian Amphiaraos functioned in a different way than the traditional Argive seer and warrior of epic; Amphiaraos was worshipped at Oropos as a *healing* hero, the sort of figure

[249] For similarities between the prophecies of seers and the prognoses of mortal physicians, see Jouanna 1992, pp.100-103.

that was emerging across Athens during this time period. The foundation of the Amphiareion at Oropos thus overlaps temporally with the cults of Asklepios taking root across the city: in the Eleusinion, on the south slope of the Akropolis, and in the Piraeus. Together with the new cult of Amphiaraos, they form a specialized group of sanctuaries dedicated to individual concerns of health and well being.

And so it emerges that the Athenian Amphiaraos was a healing hero. His entry into Athens came during a period in which other healing cults were also being founded across the *polis*. Although the contested territory of Oropos would come and go with Athens' waning political fortunes, the Athenian Amphiaraos was here to stay. His cult would spread, in fact, to several other sites across Attica—and always as a healing hero. By at least the fourth century BCE—and possibly as early as the late fifth century—the cult of Amphiaraos was established at the nearby Attic site of Rhamnous in northeastern Attica; in this Athenian deme, also on the Attic frontier, Amphiaraos again assumed the role of a healing hero.[250] The date at which the cult of Amphiaraos was established in Rhamnous is debated, but scholarship agrees that when Amphiaraos did arrive, he joined the precinct of an earlier local hero named Aristomachos;[251] this perhaps recalls the scenario in which Asklepios came to join the precinct of Amynos in central Athens. The small Amphiareion at Rhamnous included a benched room for incubation adjacent to an *oikos*-like shrine; an abundance of inscriptions and votives attest Amphiaraos' popularity at this site, which sat upon the border with Boiotia in periods when Thebes controlled Oropos. It is tempting to assume that the cult of Amphiaraos at Rhamnous was established during a time when Oropos was in Theban hands, and the Oropian sanctuary was therefore less accessible to Athenians; thus there was always a healing cult of Amphiaraos in Attica.

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[250] On the excavation of the site, and Amphiaraos' taking over of an earlier healing shrine to the hero Aristomachos, see Pouilloux 1954, p.143. Gorrini (2005 p.139), following Petrakos (1999, pp. 307-319), suggests that the cult of Amphiaraos was founded at Rhamnous at the end of the fifth century BCE.
[251] Gorrini-Melfi 2002, pp.251-255; Petrakos 1999, pp. 307-319; Pouilloux 1954, p.143.

In addition to Amphiaraos' healing cult at Rhamnous, several Attic inscriptions have emerged that offer tantalizing hints of cult activity at four other sites in Attica. From the Piraeus, an inscription dating to 262/1 BCE reveals a private religious society of Ammon (another non-Attic oracular figure) collectively making sacrifices to Amphiaraos.[252] No other evidence is known for the worship of Amphiaraos from the Piraeus, but it is clear that Amphiaraos was receiving sacrifices there in a private (if not public) capacity.[253] Two other Attic inscriptions mentioning Amphiaraos have come to light, one from the northern deme of Acharnai, and one from Eleusis.[254] The latter dates from 329 BCE, and details the Eleusinion's financial accounts; interestingly, it mentions a small payment of 8 drachmas to Amphiaraos in the annual expenditures of the sanctuary (l.305). There is no hint as to what this payment to Amphiaraos was intended for (maybe sacrifice)? Though the reference is not sufficient grounds on which to postulate the worship of Amphiaraos at or near Eleusis, it does suggest that the healing hero was quite popular at this time.

And finally, it is possible that a cult of Amphiaraos existed by the Hellenistic period somewhere in Athens proper. Amphiaraos and Hygieia figure prominently on a document relief unearthed in the Athenian Agora, recovered near the Hephaisteion in 1891 during excavations for the Piraeus-Athens railway. This relief, *IG* I^2 171, portrays a man named Artikleides, an altar, Amphiaraos, and Hygieia (Fig.63). Hygieia crowns Artikleides, who is identified as a priest of Amphiaraos. The piece has been dated to the mid-fourth century BCE on the basis of letter forms, but Lawton argues that the style of the relief (namely the figures, which resemble those on Athens, EM 2811, is dated to 323/22) indicates a date toward the end of the fourth century BCE.[255] The date is important because if the relief was inscribed after 322, it should not reference the cult at Oropos, and the priest Artikleides

[252] *IG* I^2 1282.
[253] At this time, Oropos was a member of the Boiotian Confederation, so it is likely that the sacrifice in question took place locally in the Piraeus, and was not sent up to Oropos or Rhamnous.
[254] *IG* I^2 1344 and *IG* I^2 1672, respectively.
[255] Lawton 1995, p.153, pl. 81.

must have operated at another cult site—maybe one at Rhamnous, but maybe one in Athens. Found together with this document relief was a fragmentary votive relief depicting Hygieia (Fig. 64); it is possible that Amphiaraos was included on this relief, too.[256] Additionally, a later decree dated to 273/2 BCE was found at O 16 on the Agora grid in 1970; this is not far from the findspot of the document decree and Hygieia votive relief.[257] It describes honors awarded to a priest of Amphiaraos, but dates securely to a period when Oropos was out of Athenian control. Perhaps this was near the spot where Pausanias saw a statue of Amphiaraos in his wanderings through the Athenian Agora, not far from the Eponymous Heroes.[258] Lastly, a small altar inscribed to Amphiaraos and Hygieia was uncovered in the nearby Roman Agora, dating to 217/6 BCE (*IG* I^2 4441, Fig. 65); the altar was dedicated by the priest himself. All of this patchy material does not a sanctuary make, but it is suggestive that Amphiaraos had a presence in central Athens, whether a small precinct or only by way of dedicated statues. By the Hellenistic period Athens was aswarm with healing heroes, and a shrine of Amphiaraos in this area would hardly be surprising. He would join the company of the healer Amynos, the *Heros Iatros*, and two cults of Asklepios in central Athens.

Amphiaraos' (non-murderous) son, Amphilochos, also received worship as a healing hero in Athens. In addition to receiving cult with his father on the altar at Oropos, Amphilochos appears as a named "Heros Iatros" on *IG* II^2 7175, an Attic inscription from the first century CE. The transformation of Amphiaraos was thus complete, with even his son Amphilochos—also known from the early epic tradition—came to assume the role of a healing hero in Athens. Like his son, Amphiaraos took on a new character in Athens. Amphiaraos' age-old identity as a seer—the warrior who knowingly marched toward his

[256] Athens NAM 1396 & 1383. That the decree was found alongside a Hygieia votive relief lessens the possibility that it wandered from another location; perhaps these two pieces, found alongside one another, wandered from a nearby shrine of Amphiaraos.
[257] Agora I 7163.
[258] Paus. 1.8.3.

death at Thebes—lost its sharpness of outline amidst the haze of changes and crises that accompanied the Peloponnesian War. Yet donning the cloak of a healer, he rose to meet the social needs of a city in the midst of war and plague. The curious case of Amphiaraos at Oropos illuminates the nuance and malleability of Greek religion—its general untidiness, and the mutability of function that could characterize heroes like Amphiaraos across the centuries. Regardless of mythological pedigree, religion could and did adapt to suit the social needs of communities and individuals, especially during times of change and crisis.

Conclusion

This dissertation has shown how communal discourses, concerns, and crises could shape the ways in which communities organized their religious landscapes, and negotiated the integration of new cults and deities in fifth century Athens. Although Greek religion shows a constant ebb and flow of gods within its pantheon, this project argued that Athens experienced an atypical surge in a new, specialized type of deity at this time: the healing hero and his distinct incubation cult. The sudden emergence of deities concerned with health was striking and deliberate, and reflected a larger phenomenon at work within Athenian society; this was manifest in the near simultaneous foundation of several healing cults across Attica in a period of less than ten years: at least three, though likely four cults of Asklepios (in the Piraeus, Akropolis, Agora, and at Eleusis), and possibly two cults of the *Heros Iatros* (Eleusis and central Athens). The shrine of Amynos in central Athens also seems to function as a healing cult around this same time, housing both Amynos and Asklepios within the precinct by the early fourth century BCE. The cult of Amphiaraos, which is explored in detail in Part III of this project, shows the appeal of healing cults by the last quarter of the fifth century; Amphiaraos underwent something of a transformation and came to serve as an Asklepios-like healing figure in the border territory of Oropos. The establishment of healing cults can be understood as an avenue through which Athenian communities tried to address health concerns at the state, family, and individual level.

All of these healing cults were discussed above, with evidence collated from a wide range of sources such as inscriptions, relief sculpture, iconography, literature (Athenian historiography, comedy, and oratory), sacred architecture, field survey, and excavation reports. Throughout this project, I collapse some of these modern categories by showing how the genres in fact are not so different, and can inform from separate perspectives the same phenomenon; for example, Athenian healing cults and Hippocratic Medicine are

helpful to consider alongside one another, as two different informants of a larger fifth century healing practices. So too can miniature *choes*, white ground *lekythoi*, and Euripidean tragedy work together to show social concerns related to population loss, especially at with regard to children and the *oikos* unit. For all of the Attic healing cults considered, furthermore, epigraphic evidence is consistently woven into literary and material sources to provide a holistic depiction of "lived-religion" in Classical Athens, as it relates to new healing sanctuaries. Together these sources suggest that something of a "healing phenomenon" was underway in late fifth century Athens. Arguing that the cultic manifestation of this phenomenon was something novel within the infrastructure of Greek religion, my project has situated these cults amidst the social and political crises of the Athenian Empire and Peloponnesian War, and alongside the developing corpus of Hippocratic medicine. Evident throughout this project was the changing relationship between the *polis* and the Athenian individual; in the retooled Athenian society of the late fifth century, new collectivities and vectors of cooperation formed around individuals and the household unit. This realigning of the traditional *polis*-bonds augmented the appeal of cults promoting individual and family health.

This project arrived at these conclusions over three tricolic parts, in which the agents and factors at work upon Athenian society were discussed as they are seen to give rise to an interest in individualized healing; the result was the unparalleled emergence of healing cults across Attica during a close moment in time. Building upon the eight synthesized case studies from Parts II and III, it is possible to explore how new, non-Attic healing deities were absorbed within the cultic landscape, with ritual playing a crucial role in their integration within religious communities. All aspects of this dissertation build upon, unite, and hopefully supplement earlier projects by scholars of Athenian religion, medicine, archaeology, and social history; it is through a deeper engagement with all of these

sources—visual, material, epigraphic, and literary—that we can glimpse the ways in which Athenians were responding to change and crisis through alterations in their built religious landscape.

In particular, the cult of Amphiaraos has been largely neglected by previous scholarship; I hope that this dissertation contributes to earlier work with its attention to the regional history of Oropos—within which the Amphiareion developed and was inevitably bound—as well as the material evidence from the sanctuary. I situated this important cult alongside new fifth century Attic healing sanctuaries, and tried to clarify the thorny issue of the shrine's foundation. That this sanctuary first appears in the archaeological and literary record in the last quarter of the fifth century should remind the reader of trends observed across Part II of this dissertation, in relation to the nearly contemporary foundations of several other Attic healing cults. The cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos raises questions as to *why* and *how* an Argive seer and warrior came to preside over a healing cult on the northeastern frontier of Attica. Part III examined these questions through a study of Amphiaraos, the region of the Oropia, and the iatromantic sanctuary itself. Discussion opened with the figure of Amphiaraos in both myth and cult (3.1); it was necessary to explore the early traditions surrounding the hero in order to understand the transformation that he underwent in his cult at Oropos. Discussion then turned to the region of Oropos in northeastern Attica, on the border between Athens and Thebes (3.2). The fate of the extra-urban sanctuary was tied to the city of Oropos; the historical developments of both the sanctuary and the greater Oropia region were traced, which established a framework through which fluctuations in regional and sanctuary administration could be seen (3.3). In section 3.4 the sanctuary itself was presented from a synthesis of archaeological, material, and epigraphic sources, which united to illuminate the workings of the Classical cult during its earliest years. Finally, different "foundation scenarios" were considered, with the final

conclusion that the cult was an Athenian foundation during the last quarter of the fifth century, sometime prior to the year 414 BCE (3.5). I argued that the cult was established on account of the social, political, and medical changes discussed in Part I of this dissertation, as another instance of the "healing cult phenomenon" presented in Part II. The healing cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos thus ties together the first and second parts of this dissertation, and ultimately reveals how a religious cult could change to meet the social needs of a *polis* during a time of war and crisis.

The material from the excavations of the Amphiareion has never been discussed in any depth in English scholarship, and I hope at the very least that my synthesis and translations will be of help to those interested in this important regional sanctuary, whether regarding the site's architectural development, its complicated chronologies, inscriptions, votives, or small finds. Furthermore, the sanctuary of Amphiaraos has not previously been examined in relation to the larger regional histories of Oropos, Boiotia, and Attica, or had epigraphic material combined with literary, archaeological, and visual sources in a way that allows for the discussion of an individual's lived experience within the sanctuary. I also hope that Part III makes a contribution to the wider scholarship on Greek sanctuaries, rituals and "personal" religion during the Classical period, as well as the history of this little known but important region on the border of Athenian and Boiotian territory. The town of Oropos tells a fascinating story in and of itself, which adds much to the larger historical and political landscapes of the Classical period. With its focus on the development of the sanctuary of Amphiaraos and the larger region Oropos, Part III can stand as its own project; yet by linking it to trends at work within Classical Athenian society, the foundation of the Amphiareion can be seen as part of a much larger cultic response to the changes and crises of fifth century Athens, that is, the rise of Attic healing cults.

The archaeological and epigraphic material assembled across the entirety of this project is quite up to date—inclusive of publications as recent as 2014 and 2015; it should also make accessible to a wider audience much material relating to fifth century healing cults and that of Amphiaraos in particular, with the earlier works of Petrakos synthesized here in English. More broadly, this project engages in questions relating to the "mechanisms" of religious innovation—for example, how change in Athenian religion and ritual practice was authorized and enacted—as well as the relationship between religion and politics in Classical Athens. Evident throughout this project was religion's active ability to shape society, and the embeddedness of Athenian religion within daily life.[259] With its focus on rituals, especially those considered "personal" in nature and contextualized in the broader spectrum of Bell's ritualizations, this project moves beyond the traditional "polis model" approach to Greek religion; the inclusion of material evidence for private, personal, and family rituals, for example, demonstrates the complex relationships between these new healing heroes and the individual as well as the household, and in doing so de-centralizes the *polis* model as it relates to Classical cults.[260] "Personal" religion was invoked throughout this project in relation to a number of religious practices that reflect individual engagement and interaction with Athenian healing heroes, and accordingly occupies a dimension separate from "official" state religion.[261] It can be a useful tool for study insofar as it provides a forum for the whole spectrum of ways in which an Athenian individual received, understood, and altered culturally specific religious beliefs and practices—in this case those related to health and healing during the Classical period. Healing cults, and their vast corpus of personal votive dedications in particular, speak much to the existence of personal piety,

[259] Insoll 2004a, pp.46-51.
[260] Bell 1992, 1997. On recent reassessments and critiques to Sourvinou-Inwood's (2000a,b) "polis model" approach toward Greek religion, see Kindt 2009; Bremmer 2010, pp. 13-35; River 2010, pp.268-76; Eidinow 2011; Kindt 2012.
[261] Kindt 2015, pp. 35-50.

and the interaction between the healing deity and the individual worshipper is shown to lie at the heart of the relationship.

I end this dissertation with thoughts about future work, namely the way I see this project progressing in the next phases. I am, of course, eager for feedback in this capacity from the committee, and am open to alternative opinions on how to proceed with the project in the future. Knowing that all dissertations must undergo something of a transformation before proper publication, I think one way to "unburden" the current monograph could be by turning the case studies in Part II into separate articles, and condensing them within the larger publication. I have already done this with a refereed chapter on the cult of Asklepios in the Piraeus, and think that it functions well as its own autonomous unit. I foresee similar journal articles for the Attic cults of Amynos and the *Heros Iatros* more immediately this coming Spring (perhaps to be submitted to *Kernos, Archiv für Religionsgeschichte,* or *Hesperia*); in these two articles, I intend to extend the chronological parameters to provide a comprehensive, diachronic study of each Attic cult from its Classical foundation down through the late Roman period, while always rooting their establishments in this "healing phenomenon" of the fifth century. Indeed I have already undertaken a good deal of the source collection and translations, and think that these two articles would be a logical next step, so to speak.

As far as the larger monograph goes, I think that one project could be to trim down Part III into a much smaller synthesis of the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos, and combine it with the other healing cults explored in Part II. The resulting project would be a small book on the rise of Attic healing cults against the factors explored in Part I, i.e., the backdrop of empire, war, plague, and Hippocratic medicine. I envision a second project focusing *just* on the cult of Amphiaraos at Oropos—a study of the Amphiareion and the town of Oropos over time. I think that Part III could work as its own self-contained "unit" in this capacity; after

consultation with my advisor, we decided to include it as its own separate part rather than a pared-down section within Part II because much of the research had already been done, and it offered something novel to the field as a more in-depth contribution.

Lastly, in the future I would also like to explore the role of *tupoi* as dedications in Classical sanctuaries—their materiality, iconography, and display; they emerge throughout sanctuary inventories, and the unpublished but substantial cache from the sanctuary of Demeter at Zone provides a physical example of what those within Attic healing sanctuaries could have looked liked. I hope that all or any of these projects would prove useful contributions to those interested in studying Athenian religion, archaeology, and social history. This project concludes with an Appendix of six lengthier healing cult inscriptions referenced throughout Parts I, II, and III; the Greek text and rough English translations are provided.

Appendix
Important Epigraphic Sources, with English Translations

1.1

IG II³ 1154 = *IG* II² 839 = *LSCG* 41.
From Athinas Street (Ag. Mavra) — 220/19 BCE.
Dedication to *Heros Iatros* and decree concerning the melting down and recasting of cult dedications into a single ritual vessel (*oinochoe*), followed by an inventory of dedications.
Tall, pillar-shaped base of gray marble, in three fragments.

ἥρωι ἰατρῶι
Εὐκλῆς Εὐνόμου
Κεφαλῆθεν
ἀνέθηκεν.
vacat 0.14
θεο[ί].
ἐπὶ Θρασυφῶντος ἄρχοντος [ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδι-]
ονίδος ἕκτης πρυτανείας, ἧι . . . c.10 . . .
του Παιανιεὺς ἐγραμμάτε[υεν· δήμου ψή-]
φίσματα· Μαιμακτηριῶνος [ἔνηι καὶ νέαι],
ἕκτει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτ[ανείας· ἐκκλη-]
σία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτ[ρ]ωι· τ[ῶν προέδρων]
ἐπεψήφιζεν Κλεόμαχος Λα . . . c.10 . . .
σιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι·
ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλ[εῖ]·
Ἐμπεδίων Εὐμήλου Εὐων[υμεὺς εἶπεν]·
ὑπὲρ ὧν τὴν πρόσοδον πε[ποίηται ὁ ἱερεὺς]
τοῦ ἥρωος τοῦ ἰατροῦ Οἰο[. . c.7 . . ὅπως ἂν ἐ-]
κ τῶν τύπων τῶν ἀνακει[μένων ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι]
καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου κατασ[κευασθῆι ἀνά-]
θ[η]μα τῶι θεῶι [ο]ἰνοχό[η . . . . c.12 . . . .],
[ἀγα]θεῖ τύχει δεδό[χθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ τοὺς]
[λαχ]όντας προέδ[ρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν]
[ἐκκ]λησίαν χρημα[τίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώ-]
[μην] δὲ ξυμβάλλεσ[θαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δ-]
[ῆμον] ὅτι δο[κ]εῖ τ[ῆι βουλῆι, ἐλέσθαι τὸν]
[δῆ]μον [δύ]ο μὲ[ν ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀρευπαγιτῶν],
[τ]ρεῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐαυτῶ[ν, οἵτινες μετά τε τοῦ]
[ἱ]ερέως καὶ τοῦ στρατηγ[οῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν]
[π]αρασκευὴν καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονο[ς] τοῦ [ἐπὶ]
[τ]ὰ ἱερὰ καθελόντες τοὺς τύπους καὶ εἴ τ[ι]
[ἄ]λλο ἐστὶν ἀργυροῦν ἢ χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸ
[ἀ]ργύριον τὸ ἀνακείμενον στήσαντες
[κ]ατασκευάσουσι τῶι θεῶι ἀνάθημα ὡς
ἂν δύνωνται κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναθήσου-
σιν ἐπιγράψαντες· ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ Θρασυφῶ[ν]-
[τ]ος ἄρχοντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἥρω[ι]

ἰατρῶι· ἀναγραψάτωσαν δὲ οἱ αἱρεθέν-
τες τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνατεθηκότων ἐν
τῶι ἱερῶι καὶ σταθμὸν εἰς στήλην λιθί-
νην καὶ στησάτωσαν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι· ἃ δὲ ἂν
οἰκονομήσωσιν, λόγον καταβαλέσθαι αὐ-
τούς· ἐλέσθα[ι] δὲ καὶ δημόσιον τὸν ἀντι-
γραψόμενον, ὅπως ἂν τούτων γενομένων
ἔχει καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶ[ι]
δήμωι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς· θῦσαι δὲ τῶι θε-
ῶι ἀρεστήριον ἀπὸ πέντε καὶ δέκα δρα-
χμῶν· ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς οἰνο-
χόης τῶι ἤρωι τῶι ἰατρῶι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀ-
πάντων κεχειροτόνηνται· Γλαυκέτης Κη-
φισιεύς, Σωγένης Ἰκαριεύς, Κόνων Ἀλω-
πεκῆθεν· ἐξ Ἀρευπαγιτῶν· Θέογνις Κυδα-
[θ]η[να]ιεύς, Χάρης Ἀφιδναῖος, δημόσιο[ς]
κε[χειρο]τόνηται Δημήτριος. *vacat*
vacat 0.025
[έ]ν τ[ῶι] *τοῦ* ἤρωος τοῦ ἰατροῦ τὰ καθαιρεθέντα
[εἰ]ς τὸ ἀνάθημα· ἀργυρᾶ· τέτραχμον ὃ ἀνέ-
[θη]κεν Καλλίστρατος· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκε Λα-
μίδιον· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ζωΐλος ὑπὲρ τοῦ
παιδίου· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Καλλίστιον·
τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Λαμίδιον· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθη-
κεν Ἀσφαλίων· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Νικοκλῆ[ς]·
τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Καλλίστιον· τύπον ὃν ἀν[έ]-
θηκεν Φιλιστίς· τύπον [κ]αὶ ἀσπίδιο[ν] ὃ ἀνέθη-
κεν Εὔθιον· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ζωΐλος· μηρο[ὺς]
δύο οὓς ἀνέθηκεν Ξενοκλῆς· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθη-
κεν Εὔκλεια· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Ὀλυμπίς·
τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκε Καλλίστιον· ὀφθαλμοὺς
οὓς ἀνέθηκεν Κτήσων· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκε Καλλίσ-
τιον· δραχμαὶ ἓξ . . ετ . α . . . . ἀνεπίγραφον
τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Κ[αλλίστιο]· μηροὺς οὓς [ά]-
[ν]έθηκεν Σπινθήρ· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκε [Π]ατροκ[λ—]·
[όφθ]αλμοὺς οὓς ἀνέθηκε Λαμίδιον· ὀφθαλμοὺς
[οὓς] ἀνέθηκε Φιλοστράτη· ἀκροστόλιον ὃ ἀ[νέ]-
[θηκ]ε Θεό[δ]οτος· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκε Σόφον· στ[ῆ]-
[θος] ὃ ἀνέθηκε Πύρων· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκε Μόσχ . .
[ὑπ]ὲρ Καλλιστράτης καὶ Καλλίππου· τύπον ὃν
ἀνέθηκεν Καλλίστιον· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν
Καλλίστιον· τύπον ὃν ἀνέθηκεν Καλλίστ[ιον]·
τύπον <ὃν> ἀνέθηκε Καλλίστιον· χεὶρ ἣν ἀνέθη[κε]
Νικοστράτη· τυπία δύο <ἃ> ἀνέθηκε Εὐκλῆς.
vacat 0.025
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ΔΓΗΗΗ· τύπων ὁλκὴ ΗΔΓΗ·
φιάλη ὁλκὴ Η· κεφάλαιον ΗΗΔΔΔΗΗΗ· ἀπὸ τού-
του ἀρεστήριον κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ΔΓ· καὶ συ[ν]-
χωνευθέντων τῶν τυπίων καὶ τῆς φιάλης

ἀπουσία ΔΗ· καὶ εἰς ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης
85 ΓΗΗΙΙΙ· ἔργαστρα τῆς οἰνοχόης ΔΗ· ἡ οἰνοχό-
η ἄγει ΗΡΔΔΔΗΗΙΙΙ κεφάλαιον ΗΗΔΔΔΗ λοι-
πὸν ΗΗ· τοῦτο κατασκευασάμενοι ἀναθήσο-
μεν τύπον.

English Translation:

To the Physician Hero.
Eukles the son of Eunomos
of Kephale
dedicated [this statue and stele].
5 Gods
In the archonship of Thrasyphon (220/19 BCE), in the sixth
prytany, of Pandionis, for which . . .
of Paianios was secretary. Decrees
[of the People]. . . . of Maimakterion,
10 the sixteenth of the prytany.
The head Assembly in the theatre. Of the presiding committee
Kleomachos son of La--- of --- was putting it to a vote,
and his fellow presiding committee members.
The Council decided.
15 Empedion son of Eumelos of Euonymon proposed:
concerning the matters about which [the priest]
of the Hero Doctor has made an approach . . .
from the *tupoi* stored [in the sanctuary],
and the silver coin, there should be fashioned, as a dedication
20 to the god, an *oinochoe* [wine-pouring vessel],
for good fortune, the Council shall decide, that the
presiding committee allotted for the forthcoming
Assembly shall put these matters on the agenda, and submit
the opinion of the Council to the
25 People that it seems good to the Council, that the People
should choose two men,
and three from their own number, who with the
priest and the general in charge of
equipment and the director of works
30 in charge of sanctuaries, having melted down the *tupoi* and
anything else that there is in silver or gold,
and having weighed the stored silver coin,
will fashion for the god a dedication, as beautiful as
they can, and will dedicate it,
35 having inscribed on it, “The Council in the
archonship of Thrasyphon, from the dedications, to the Physician
Hero”; and those chosen shall write up
the names of those who have dedicated in
the sanctuary, and the weight, on a stone
40 stele and stand it in the sanctuary; and they

shall deposit an account of what they disburse;
and they shall choose a public slave to make
a record, so that, these things having taken place,
the affairs of the gods shall be handled well and piously by the Council and
People; and to sacrifice to the god
a propitiatory sacrifice for fifteen drachmas.
For the fashioning of the wine-pouring vessel for
the Hero Doctor were elected
from all Athenians, Glauketes
of Kephisia, Sogenes of Ikaria, Konon
of Alopeke; from the Areopagites, Theognis of
Kydathenaion, Chares of Aphidna; as the public slave
Demetrios was elected.
In the sanctuary of the Hero Doctor, the items melted down
for the dedication: silver: tetradrachm which Kallistratos
dedicated; a *tupos* which Lamidion dedicated;
a *tupos* which Zoilos dedicated on behalf of his
child; a *tupos* which Kallistion dedicated;
a *tupos* which Lamidion dedicated; a *tupos* which
Asphalion dedicated; a *tupos* which Nikokles dedicated;
a *tupos* which Kallistion dedicated; a *tupos* which
Philistis dedicated; a *tupos* and little shield which Euthion
dedicated; a *tupos* which Zoilos dedicated; two thighs or thigh-bones
which Xenokles dedicated; a *tupos* which
Eukleia dedicated; a *tupos* which Olympis dedicated;
a *tupos* which Kallistion dedicated; eyes
which Kteson dedicated; a *tupos* which Kallistion dedicated;
six drachmas; uninscribed tetradrachm;
a *tupos* which Kallistion dedicated; thighs or thigh-bones which
Spinther dedicated; a *tupos* which Patrokl- dedicated;
eyes which Lamidion dedicated; eyes
which Philostrate dedicated; end-point which
Theodotos dedicated; a *tupos* which Sophon dedicated;
breast which Pyron dedicated; a *tupos* which Mosch- dedicated
on behalf of Kallistrate and Kallippos; a *tupos* which
Kallistion dedicated; a *tupos* which Kallistion
dedicated; a *tupos* which Kallistion dedicated;
a *tupos* [which] Kallistion dedicated; hand which Nikostrate
dedicated; two little *tupoi* [which] Eukles dedicated.
Drachmas of silver: 18. Weight of *tupoi*: 116 dr.
Dish weight: 100 dr. Total: 234 dr. From this
a propitiatory sacrifice according to the decree: 15 dr.
Reduction on melting together of the little *tupoi* and the
dish: 12 dr.; and for inscribing the stele
8 dr. 3 ob.; making-cost of the wine-pourer: 12 dr. The wine-pourer
weighs 183 dr. 3 ob. Total: 232 dr. Remainder: 2 dr. Having fashioned this into a
tupos we shall dedicate it.

1.2

IG II^2 4960-1 = *SEG* 47.232 (Clinton) = *SEG* 25.226 (Beschi)
"Telemachos Monument," c.410-400 BCE(?). Archonship terms establish a clear chronology: Astyphilos (420/19 BCE), Archeas (419/18 BCE), Antiphon (418/17 BCE), Euphemos (417/16 BCE), Arimnestos (416/15 BCE), Charias (415/14 BCE), Teisandros (414/13 BCE), Kleokritos (413/12 BCE), Kallias (412/11 BCE). Found in the south slope Asklepieion, but as duplicate fragments have emerged from several European museums, the *stele* must have been copied in antiquity. As this chronicle has many published editions and English translations, I see no need to reinvent the wheel and attempt my own. I reproduce Clinton's edition here (*SEG* 47.232), which builds upon the earlier one of Beschi (*SEG* 25.226):

[Τ]ηλέμαχος ἰδ[ρύσατο τὸ ἰ]-
[ε]ρὸν καὶ τὸν βω[μὸν τῶι Ἀσ]-
[σκλ]ηπιῶι πρῶτ[ος καὶ Ὑγι]-
[είαι], τοῖς Ἀσσ[κληπιάδαι]-
[ς καὶ τ]αῖς Ἀσσ[κληπιοῦ θυγ]-
[ατράσιν] κα[ὶ — — — — —]
[— — — — — — — — — — —]
[…8….]ΙΙΣ[.4..]Μ[…]
[…7… ἀ]νελθὼν Ζεόθ[ε]-
[ν Μυστηρί]οις τοῖς μεγά-
[λοις κατ]ήγετο ἐς τὸ Ἐλ-
[ευσίνιο]ν· καὶ οἴκοθεν
[μεταπεμ]ψάμενος δια[κ]-
[όνος ἤγ]αγεν δεῦρε ἐφ' ἅ-
[ρματος] Τηλέμαχο[ς] κα[τ]-
[ὰ χρησμ]ός· ἅμα ἦλθεν Ὑγ-
[ίεια· καὶ] οὕτως ἱδρύθη
[τὸ ἱερὸ]ν τόδε ἅπαν ἐπὶ
[Ἀστυφί]λο ἄρχοντος Κυ-
[δαντίδ]ο· Ἀρχέας· ἐπὶ το-
[ύτο οἱ Κ]ήρυκες ἠμφεσβ-
[ήτον τοῦ] χωρίο καὶ ἔνια
[ἐπεκώλ]υσαν ποῆσαι· Ἀν-
[τιφῶν … ἐπὶ το]ύτο εὐ-
[…7…· Εὔφημος]· ἐπὶ τ-
[ούτο ……14……]
[— — — — — — — —]
[— — — — — — — — — — —]
[— — — — — — — — — — —]
.ε…….16…….
ν ἔκτ[ισε καὶ ..6…κα]-
τεσκ[εύασε. Χαρίας· ἐπὶ]
τούτο τὸν [περίβολον ἀ]-
πὸ τοῦ ξυλοπυ[λίο. Τείσα]-
νδρος· ἐπὶ το[ύτο ἐπεσκ]-
ευάσθη τὰ ξ[υλοπύλια κ]-
αὶ τὰ λοιπὰ [τῶν ἱερῶν π]-
ροσιδρύσατ[ο. Κλεόκρι]-
τος· ἐπὶ τού[το ἐφυτεύθ]-
η καὶ κατέστ[ησε κοσμή]-
σας τὸ τέμεν[ος ἅπαν τέ]-
λει τῶι ἑαυ[τοῦ. Καλλίας]

[Σκαμβωνίδης· ἐπὶ τούτ]-
[ο — — — — — — — — — —]

English Translation:

(1) Telemachos first set up the sanctuary and altar to Asklepios and to Hygieia, and the Asklepiadai and the daughters of Asklepios…

(9) Coming up from Zea at the time of the Greater Mysteries, he arrived at the Eleusinion; and Telemachos, having sent for servants at his own expense, brought him here on a wagon in accordance with (16) an oracle. Hygieia came along with him. And thus this whole sanctuary was established when Astyphilos of Kudantidai was archon. (20) When Archeas was archon, the Kerykes disputed the land and hindered some actions. When Antiphon was archon…[??] prospered. When Euphemos was archon…

(32) When Karias was archon, a *peribolos* was built apart from the wooden gateway. When Teisandras was archon, the wooden gateway was rebuilt and the rest of the sanctuary set up in addition. (38) When Kleokritos was archon, the sanctuary was planted, and he arranged and adorned the whole sanctuary at his own expense. When Kallias of Skambonidai was archon…

1.3
IG VII 4255 = *I. Oropos* 292
Date: 335-322 BCE
Marble Stele; found in Amphiareion sanctuary near the theater.

θεοί.
ἐν Ἀμφιαράου ἐκ τοῦ λοτρῶνος τοῦ {αν} ἀνδρείο-
υ, ὅπως ἂν τὸ ὕδωρ μὴ κωλύηται ῥεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς χ-
αράδρας, ὅ[τ]αν ῥεῖ, ἀλλ᾽ εἶ χρήσιμος ὁ λουτρών, ὅ-
ταν χειμάζει ὁ θεός, ὀχετὸμ ποῆσαι λίθινον κ-
ρυπτόν, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρ-
ώματος τοῦ τῆς γεφύρας μέχρι τῆς καταβάσ-
ε[ι]ω[ς] τῆς παρὰ τὸν γυναικεῖον λουτρῶνα, τά-
φρον ὀρύξαντα μῆκος μὲν τὸ γεγ<ρα>μμένον, πλ-
άτος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναλήμματος τοῦ τῆς χαρά-
δρας τεττάρων ποδῶν, βάθος δὲ τρίπουν, θήσει λ-
ίθους τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῶι ἐδάφει φορμηδὸν συντιθ-
εὶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἁρμόττοντας καὶ εἰς ἕδραν
ἀσκάστους κατακρούων τὸν λίθον ἕκαστον
μολύβδωι ἢ λίθωι, ἐπικόψας δὲ κατὰ κεφαλὴν καὶ σ-
υνομαλίσας πρὸς τὴν καταφορὰν ὅπως {ς} ἂν εἶ
εὕρον ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τούτων ἐξεργασμένους
τῶν λίθων τὰς ἕδρας ὀρθὰς καὶ ἀστραφεῖς καὶ [τ]-
οὺς ἁρμοὺς ὅλους, τὰ δὲ μέτωπα ἀναπελεκήσ-

ει εὐτενῆ, θήσει δὲ τοὺς λίθους ὀρθοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ τ-
ριημιπόδια διαλείπων διάρρουν πλάτος ποδός,
θήσει δὲ εἰς ἔδραν ἀσκάστους [καὶ] πρὸς ἀλλήλ-
ους ἁρμόττοντας, συμβ[άλλων] τοὺς ἁρμοὺς
ὅλους, ἐπικόψας δὲ <κ>ατὰ κεφαλὴν εὐτενῆ συ-
νστώρσει λίθοις συντιθεὶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἁ-
ρμόττοντας καὶ εἰς ἔδραν ἀσκάστους τιθεὶς
[ἀρτ]ιλιθίαν μηδαμοῦ ποιῶν, παρασάξει δὲ τοὺ-
ς λί<θ>ους ἅπαντας γεῖ τεῖ ἐκ τῆς τάφρου, λί<θ>οις
δὲ χρήσεται τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ κατὰ τ-
ὸ[μ] βωμόν, προσαγόμενος αὐτὸς αὑτῶι πρὸ-
ς τὸ ἔργον, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἱκανοὶ ὦσιν, παρέξουσιν
ὅσων ἂν προσδεῖ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ πρὸς τῶι ἔργω-
ι· ἀναιρήσεται δὲ τὸ ἔργον κατὰ τετραποδίαν κα-
ὶ ἀποδώσει τέλος ἔχον εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἂν
λάβει τὸ ἀργύριον· ἐμισθώσατο τὴν τετραπο-
δίαν ΓΗ· μισθωτὴς Φρῦνος Ἀλωπεκῆσι οἰκῶν· ἐγγ-
υητὴς Τελεσίας Τελλίου Εὐωνυμεύς.

English Translation:

Gods.
In the sanctuary of Amphiaraos, so that water
might not be prevented by the ravine from flowing from the mens' bath, whenever it
rains, but so that the bath might be usable,
when the god raises a storm, to make a stone gutter
hidden, in length starting from the
pavement of the bridge as far as the
way down past the women's bathing room,
digging a trench of the specified length,
in breadth from the retaining wall of the ravine
four feet, in depth three feet; he will place
stones, setting them together in the ground cross-wise,
fitting each other and firm in their bedding,
pounding each stone down
with lead or stone, dressing their upper faces and
leveling them in the direction of the slope so that there might be
a good flow; he will set upon them worked
stones with their beddings even and immovable and
all the joints, and he will cut the faces
proper; and he will set upright stones
one and a half feet apart leaving a channel a foot in width,
and he will set them firm in their beddings and joining with one another,
linking all the joints;
and dressing the upper faces, he will make a regular paving,
composed of stones joining one another
and placed firm in their bedding,
not making anywhere any overlaps between the stones; he will pack alongside
all the stones earth from the trench;
he will make use also of stones from the theatre which is opposite
the altar, procuring the stones himself for

the job, but if they are not sufficient, the managers will provide
as many as are necessary for the job;
he will undertake the work in units of four feet and
he will finish the job within twenty days from the day on which
he took the money; he is contracted per four feet
6 drachmas. Phrynos residing at Alopeke is contractor;
Telesias son of Tellias of Euonymon is guarantor.

1.4

IG II^3 349 = IG VII 4252 = *I. Oropos* 296
332/1 BC
Athenian decree in honor of Amphiaraos. Pedimental *stele* of white marble, nearly intact. From the Amphiareion at Oropos.

θεοί·
ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρε-
χθηίδος ἐνάτης πρυτανέας, ἧι Ἀρι-
στόνους Ἀριστόνου ΑναγυράσιοςΙ
ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἐνδεκάτηι· τρίτηι
καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκ-
λησία κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφ-
ιζεν Ἐπιχάρης Ἀγνούσιος· ἔδοξεν
τῶι δήμωι· Φανόδημος Διύλλου Θυμ-
αιτάδης εἶπεν· ἀγαθῆι τύχηι τοῦ δ-
ήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ θειὸς
καλῶς ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν ἀφικνουμ-
ένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τ-
ὸ ἱερόν, ἐφ᾽ ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι π-
άντων τῶν ἐν τῆι χώραι, στεφανῶσα-
ι τὸν Ἀμφιάραον χρυσῶι στεφάνωι
ἀπὸ : Χ : δραχμῶν καὶ ἀνειπεῖν τὸν
κήρυκα τοῦ δήμου, ὅτι «στεφανοῖ ὁ δ-
ῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸν Ἀμφιάραον χρ-
υσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ : Χ : δραχμῶν»· τὸ
δὲ ἀργύριον τὸ εἰς τὸν στέφανον δ-
οῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικ-
ῶν, καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν στέφανον π-
οησάμενον τοῖς ἐπιμελητα῀ς ἀνα-
θεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· τοὺς δὲ ἐπιμε-
λητὰς ἀνειπόντας τὰ ἐψηφισμένα
τῶι δήμωι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι ἀναθεῖναι
τὸν στέφανον τῶι θεῶι ἐφ᾽ ὑγιείαι
καὶ σωτηρίαι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηνα-
ίων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τ-
ῶν ἐν τῆι χώραι πάντων· ἀναγράψαι
δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήληι λιθί-
νει καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τὸν κα-
τὰ πρυτανείαν γραμματέα· εἰς δὲ τ<ὴ>-
ν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸ-
ν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου : ΔΔ : δραχμὰς ἐ-

κ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομέ-
νων τῶι δήμωι.

English Translation:

Gods.
In the archonship of Niketes [332/1 BCE], in
the ninth prytany, of Erechtheus, for which
Aristonous son of Aristonous of Anagyrous
was secretary. On the eleventh; the twenty-
third of the prytany. Principal
Assembly. Of the presiding committee
Epichares of Hagnous was putting to the vote. The People
decided. Phanodemos son of Diyllos of Thymaitadai
proposed: for the good fortune
of the Athenian People, since the god
takes good care of those Athenians
and others who come to
the sanctuary, for the health and preservation
of all those in the country, to crown
Amphiaraos with a gold crown
of 1,000 drachmas; and the herald of the People
shall announce that the Athenian
People crowns Amphiaraos with a gold
crown of 1,000 drachmas; and
the treasurer of the military fund
shall give the money for the crown,
and shall hand over the crown,
once made, to the managers, to dedicate
in the sanctuary; and the
managers, having announced what has been decreed
to the People in the sanctuary, shall dedicate
the crown to the god for the health
and preservation of the Athenian People
and the children and women and
everything in the country;
and the prytany secretary shall inscribe
this decree on a stone stele
and stand it in the sanctuary;
and for inscribing the stele the treasurer
of the People shall give 20 drachmas
from the People's fund for expenditure
on decrees.

1.5
IG II^3 348 = IG VII 4253 = *I. Oropos* 297
332/1 BCE

Athenian decree honoring Phanodemos of Thymaitadai. Pedimental stele of white marble, nearly intact.

θεοί·
ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθη-
ίδος ἐνάτης πρυτανείας, ἧι Ἀριστόνο-
υς Ἀριστόνου Ἀναγυράσιος ἐγραμμάτ-
ευεν· Θαργηλιῶνος ἑνδεκάτει· τρίτηι
καὶ εἰκοστῆι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησ-
ία κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Ἐπ-
ιχάρης Ἀγνούσιος· ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι·
Δημήτριος Εὐκτήμονος Ἀφιδναῖος εἶ-
πεν· ἐπειδὴ Φανόδημος Θυμαιτάδης κα-
λῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως νενομοθέτηκεν πε-
ρὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, ὅπως ἂν ἥ τε
πεντετηρὶς ὡς καλλίστη γίγνηται κα-
ὶ αἱ ἄλλαι θυσίαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐν τ-
ῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου, καὶ πόρους πε-
πόρικεν εἰς ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τὴν κατασκ-
ευὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι· τ-
οὺς προέδρους, οἳ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρε-
ύειν εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν, προσα-
γαγεῖν Φανόδημον πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ
χρηματίσαι, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι
τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆ-
ι βουλῆι ἐπαινέσαι Φανόδημον Διύλλ-
ου Θυμαιτάδην φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαρ-
άου, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι
ἀπὸ : Χ : δραχμῶν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ
ψήφισμα ἐν στήληι λιθίνει τὸγ γραμμ-
ατέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν καὶ στῆσαι
ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου· εἰς δὲ τὴν
ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ταμ-
ίαν τοῦ δήμου : ΔΔ : δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατ-
ὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δήμωι.

English Translation:

Gods.
In the archonship of Niketes [332/1 BCE] in the
ninth prytany of Erechtheis, for which Aristonous
son of Aristonous of Anagyrous was secretary.
On the eleventh of Thargelion, the twenty-
third prytany. Head
Assembly. Of the presiding committee,
Epichares of Hagnous was putting to the vote. The People decided.
Demetrios son of Euktemon of Aphidna
proposed: since Phanodemos of Thymaitadai
has legislated well and with love of honor

about the sanctuary of Amphiaraos, so that both
the quadrennial festival may be as fine as possible,
and the other sacrifices to the gods in
the sanctuary of Amphiaraos, and he has
supplied means for these things and for the fitting out
of the sanctuary, the Council shall decide:
that the presiding committee allotted to
preside at the next Assembly
shall present Phanodemos to the People and
put the matter on the agenda and submit the opinion
of the Council to the People, that it seems good
to the Council to praise Phanodemos son of Diyllos
of Thymaitadai for his love of honor
towards the god and the sanctuary of Amphiaraos,
and crown him with a gold crown
of 1,000 drachmas; and the prytany secretary
shall inscribe this decree
on a stone stele and erect it
in the sanctuary of Amphiaraos; and for
inscribing the stele the treasurer
of the People shall give 20 drachmas from the
expenditure fund of the *demos* for decrees.

1.6

LSCG 69 = *I.Oropos* 277 = *IG* VII 235 = *SIG*^{3} 1004 = *SEG* 31.416

c.386-374 BCE (the period of Oropos' independence?)

A "Sacred Law" detailing regulations and protocol within the early sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos; addressed the duties of priest and visitors alike. Marble *stele* with upper molding found broken into three pieces at the Amphiareion, now lodged in the Amphiareion Museum (A 236). *Stele* found on the left bank of the ravine in the aqueduct north of the spring.

θεοί.
τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου φοιτᾶν εἰς τὸ ἱερό-
ν, ἐπειδὰν χειμὼν παρέλθει μέχρι ἀρότου ὥρ-
ης, μὴ πλέον διαλείποντα ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ
μένειν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα ἡμέρα-
ς τοῦ μηνὸς ἑκ<ά>στο : καὶ ἐπαναγκάζειν τὸν ν-
εωκόρον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ-
ν νόμον καὶ τῶν ἀφικνεμένων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν·
ἂν δέ τις ἀδικεῖ ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ ἢ ξένος ἢ δημότ-
ης, ζημιούτω ὁ ἱερεὺς μέχρι πέντε δραχμέων
κυρίως καὶ ἐνέχυρα λαμβανέτω τοῦ ἐζημιωμ-
ένου, ἂν δ' ἐκτίνει τὸ ἀργύριον, παρεόντος τοῖ
ἱερέος ἐμβαλέτω εἰς τὸν θησαυρόν : δικάζει-
ν δὲ τὸν ἱερέα, ἄν τις ἰδίει ἀδικηθεῖ ἢ τῶν ξέ-

νων ἢ τῶν δημοτέων ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ μέχρι τριῶν
δραχμέων, τὰ δὲ μέζονα, ἥχοι ἑκάστοις αἱ δίκ-
αι ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰρῆται ἐ̣ν′τ̣ο̃θα γινέσθων·
προσκαλεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐθημερὸν περὶ τῶν ἐ-
ν τοῖ ἱεροῖ ἀδικιῶν, ἂν δὲ ὁ ἀντίδικος μὴ συνχ-
ωρεῖ εἰς τὴν ὑστέρην ἡ δίκη τελείσθω : ἐπαρ-
χὴν δὲ διδοῦν τὸμ μέλλοντα θεραπεύεσθαι ὑ-
πὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ἔλ<α>ττον ἐννέ’ ὀβολοὺς δοκίμου ἀργ-
υρίου καὶ ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν παρε-
όντος τοῦ νεωκόρου ⟦.....19.....⟧
⟦...c.9...⟧ κατεύχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπ-
ὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιτιθεῖν, ὅταν παρεῖ, τὸν ἱερέα,
ὅταν δὲ μὴ παρεῖ, τὸν θύοντα καὶ τεῖ θυσίει α-
ὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖ κατεύχεσθαι ἕκαστον, τῶν δὲ δη-
μορίων τὸν ἱερέα· τῶν δὲ θυομένων ἐν τοῖ ἱε-
ροῖ πάντων τὸ δέρμα ἰ̣ε̣ρ̣[ὸν εἶναι], θύειν δὲ ἐξ-
εῖν ἅπαν ὅ τι ἂν βόληται ἕκαστος, τῶν δὲ κρεῶ-
ν μὴ εἶναι ἐκφορὴν ἔξω τοῦ τεμένεος· τοῖ δὲ
ἱερεῖ διδοῦν τὸς θύοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερήου ἑκ-
άστο τὸν ὦμον πλὴν ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ εἶ, τότε δὲ ἀπ-
ὸ τῶν δημορίων λαμβανέτω ὦμον ἀφ’ ἑκάστου
τοῦ ἱερήου· ἐγκαθεύδειν δὲ τὸν δειόμενο-
ν μ[έ]χρ̣ι̣ ⟦.....23.....⟧ ς ἐ̣π̣ὶ̣ τ̣ο-
ῦ αὐ[το]ῦ ⟦.....23.....⟧ πειθόμ-
ενον τοῖς νόμοις· τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδον-
τος, ὅταν ἐμβάλλει τὸ ἀργύριον, γράφεσθαι τ-
ὸν νεωκόρον καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεος καὶ ἐκ-
τιθεῖν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ γράφοντα ἐν πετεύροι σ-
κοπεῖν <τ>οῖ βολομένοι· ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητηρίο-
ι καθεύδειν χωρὶς μὲν τὸς ἄνδρας, χωρὶς
δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἠ-
[ῶ]ς τοῦ β[ω]μοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡσπέ-
ρης ο̣[.....12..... τὸ κοι]μητήριον τοὺς ἐν-
κα<θ>[εύδοντας .....15..... τὸν δ]ὲ θ̣ε̣ὸ̣ν̣
ἐγκ[.....32.....]
ο ἐξ[.....29.....]θω[.]
ορο[.....24..... ἐγκεκ]ο̣ι̣μ-
ημέ[ν.....29.....]λε-
ροω[.....28.....]εν̣ [τ]ο-
ῖ Ἀμφ̣[ιαράοι .....21.....]ι ζημ-
ιου[.....27.....] δὲ τὸ-
ν βολ[όμενον .....16..... τὸν ἰε]ρέ<α>
[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]

English Translation:

Gods.
The priest of Amphiaraos [is] to come regularly (φοιτάω) to the sanctuary, from the end of winter until it is the season of

ploughing, not leaving for more than three days, and is to remain in the sanctuary (5) no less than ten days of each month. And [he is to] compel the Neokoros of the sanctuary to have a care for the sanctuary, according to the law, and also for those [visitors] arriving at the sanctuary. And should someone commit a wrong in the sanctuary, either foreigner or someone of the community (τῶν ξένων ἢ τῶν δημοτέων), let the priest, being in charge, impose up to five drachmas (10), and let him take security from the person on whom [the fine] is imposed (τοῦ ἐζημιωμένου), and if he pays full penalty (ἐκτίνω) the priest, if he is present, shall put the silver into the offertory box. And the priest is to judge if someone commits an injustice in private, (15) either of foreigners or citizens, in the sanctuary, of up to three drachmas, and the more-serious cases are to be tried in whatever courts the laws provide. The call for injustices committed in the sanctuary shall be issued on that same day, but if the defendant does not come in, (20) the case is to be finished on the next day. A fee is to be paid, from those intending to obtain healing from the god of no less than [[nine obols of whatever]] currency and to drop it into the offertory box when the Neokoros is present…. (25) is to make prayers and set on the altar, when he is present, the holy things, but when he is not present, the person sacrificing is to do the sacrifice himself. Those men offering private sacrifices are to make their own prayers… the priest shall pray… and the skins of all of those being sacrificed in the sanctuary are [[to be sacred]] (30). And it is permissible to sacrifice whatever each person wants, but it is not permissible to carry the meats out of the *temenos*… and the sacrificer is to give to the priests one shoulder of each sacrifice, except when it is the festival, then let him take from (35) each public/state sacrifice one shoulder…obeying the laws… the name of the person incubating, once he puts in his money, is to be written up by the Neokoros (40), both of he himself and his polis, and is to be set up in the sanctuary having been written up on a board (πετεύροι) for one wanting to view it. And in the place for incubation the men are to sleep… and the women, the men toward the east of the altar, and the women toward the west….

Figures and Plates

Fig. 1: Map of Athenian Empire c.450 BCE

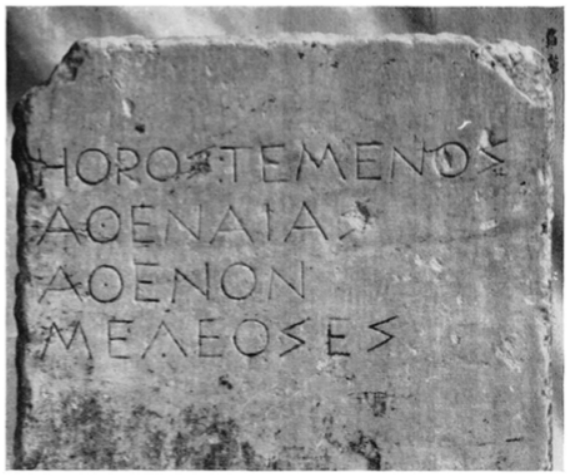


Fig. 2: Athenian *Horos* Stone, *IG* I^3 1493, c. 440 BCE. found near Samian Heraion, "*horos* of the temenos of Athena who rules Athens," Heraion Inv. 214.

Fig. 3: Athenian *Horoi* Stones from Samos (Classical)

Fig. 4: Votive relief from Piraeus Asklepieion, c.420 BCE. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek Inv. 1430.

Fig. 5: *Krateriskoi* from Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, c.425 BCE. Images after Kahil 1965, Pl.17.

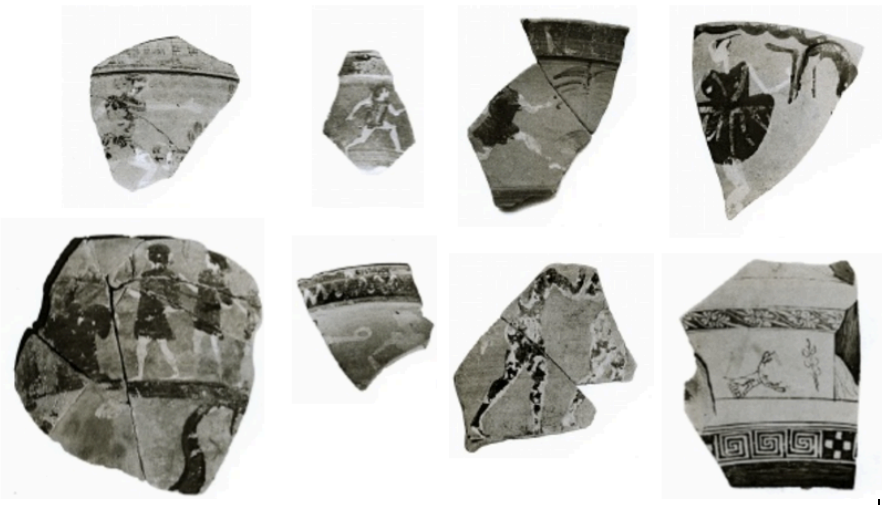


Fig. 6: *Krateriskoi* fragments from Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, c.425 BCE, depicting scenes of ritual: running and dancing girls, palm tree, altar with sacrifice. Images after Kahil 1965, Pl.8.1-8.

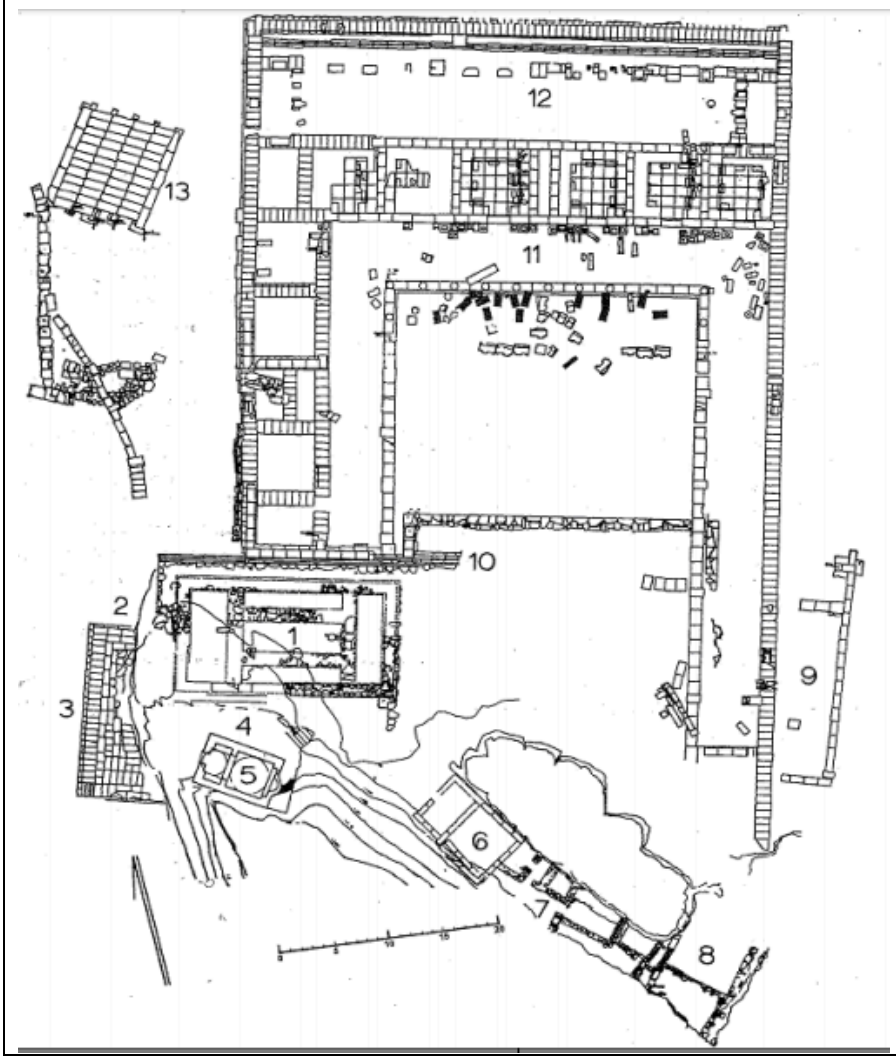


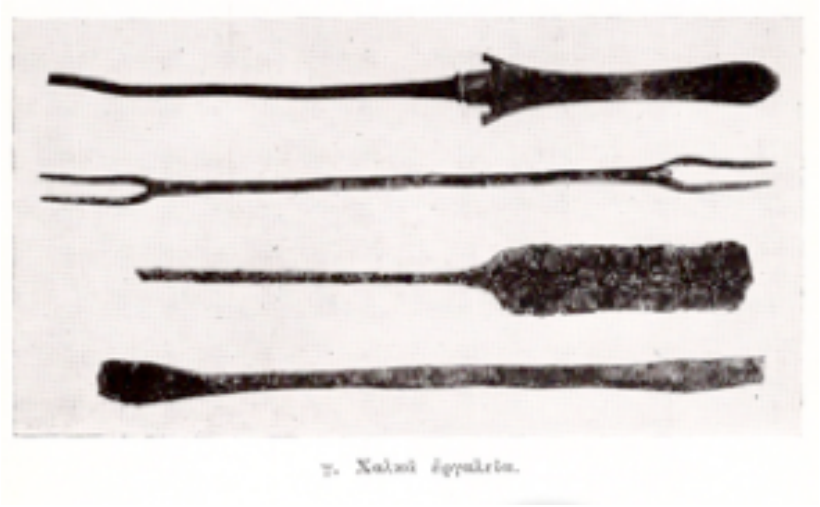
Fig. 7: Plan of Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, c.420 BCE.
Featuring: the temple of Artemis (1),
the area of the spring (2),
the western terrace (3),
the rock-cut terrace (4),
the chapel of Aghios Georgios (5),
the so-called heroon of Iphigeneia (6),
the cave (7),
the 'Sacred House' (8),
eastern building (9),
the stepped retaining wall (10),
the stoa (11),
the northern section of the stoa (12),
the bridge (13).

Fig. 8: Photograph of Stoa and Courtyard of Artemis at Brauron.

Fig. 9: Miniature Attic Red-Figure *choes*, c.430-400 BCE. With images of young boys, animals, and toys. Left: British Museum 1864, 1007.231;Right: Fitzwilliam Museum GR.P.8.

Fig. 10: Seated physician relief, Antikenmuseum Basel, BS 236.

Fig. 11: Red-figure *aryballos* with physician bleeding patient over a basin, with cupping instruments above, c.480 BCE, Louvre, Paris CA 2183.



γ. Χαλκᾶ ἐργαλεῖα.

Fig. 12: Bronze surgical tools found in the excavations at the Amphiareion at Oropos. Petrakos 1968, Fig. 52γ.

γ. Προσθία καὶ ὀπισθία ὄψις χαλκοῦ ἐνεπιγράφου ἰατρικοῦ ἐργαλείου.

Fig. 13: A votive doctor's tool found in the excavations at the Amphiareion at Oropos; inscribed "of Heliodoros". Petrakos 1968, Fig. 50γ.

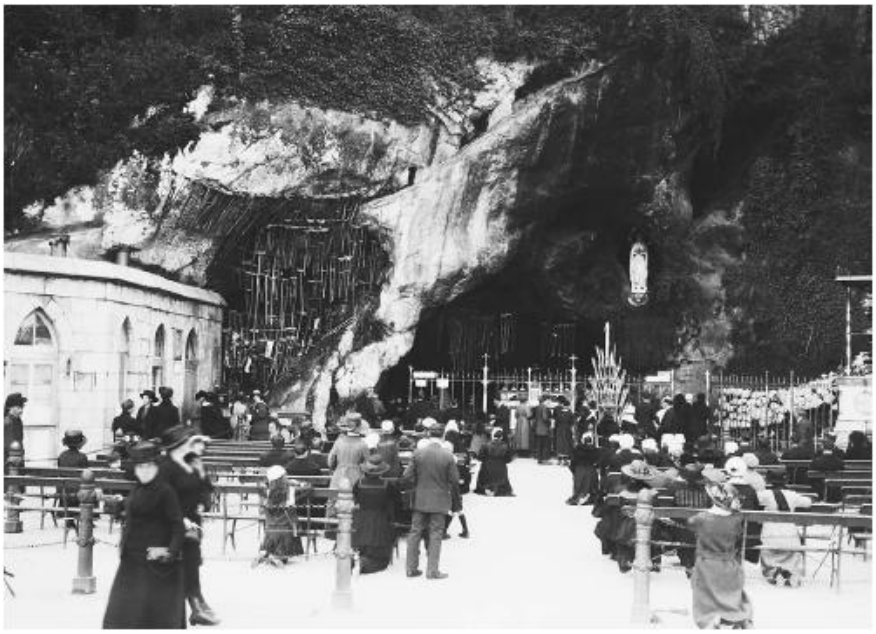
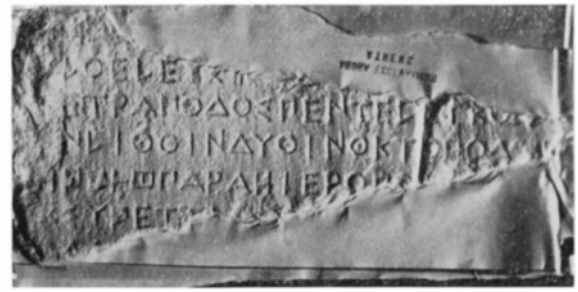


Fig. 14: Image from the modern pilgrimage/healing shrine of Lourdes, France. Note the crutches of healed visitors displayed in grotto.

Fig. 15: Figure 15: Votives (both anatomical and *pinax*-like) from the church of Nossa do Senhor Bonfim, Brasil, with its "Hall of Miracles" (Sala dos Milagres).

Fig. 16: Map of Attica, with sites of Eleusis, Oropos, Rhamnous, Aegina, et al; from mlahanas.de.



No. 7. Copy of *I.G.*, I², 318
(Photograph from Squeeze)

[.]□ πμ[ρὰ – – –]
ὑλο Ἐλευσι[νίο – – –]
τετράποδος Πεντελεικῆ Δ[– – –]
[.]ν λίθοιν δυοῖν ὀκτοπόδ[ο]ι[ν – – –]
5 Η ⋈ Γ Ι □ παρὰ ἱεροποι[ῶν Ἐλευσῖνι – – –]
Χσυπεται[ῆος καὶ χσυναρχόντον – – –]
[.]Δ![– – –]

Fig. 17: Images from Raubitschek (1943,p.37) of idiosyncratic punctuation characterizing *IG* I³ 393.

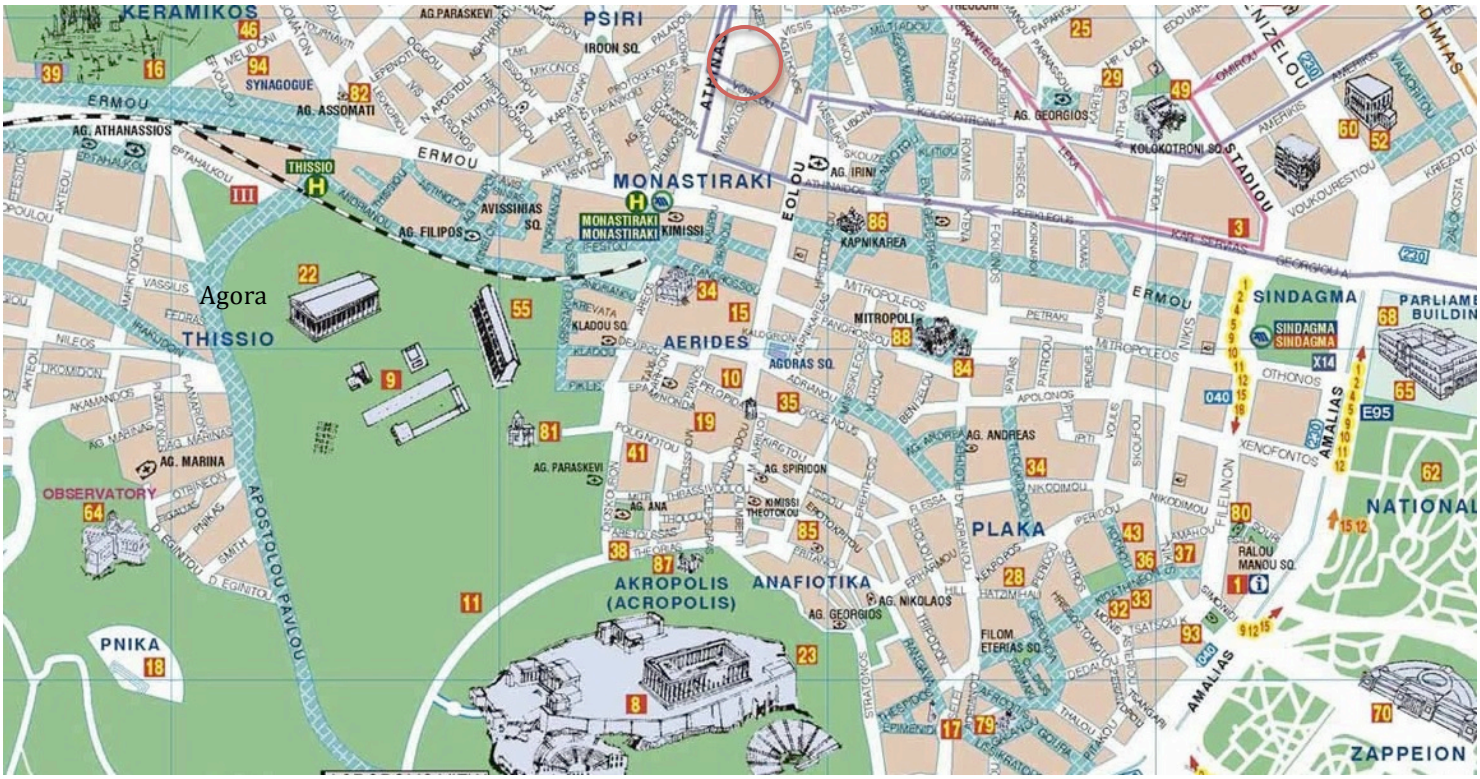
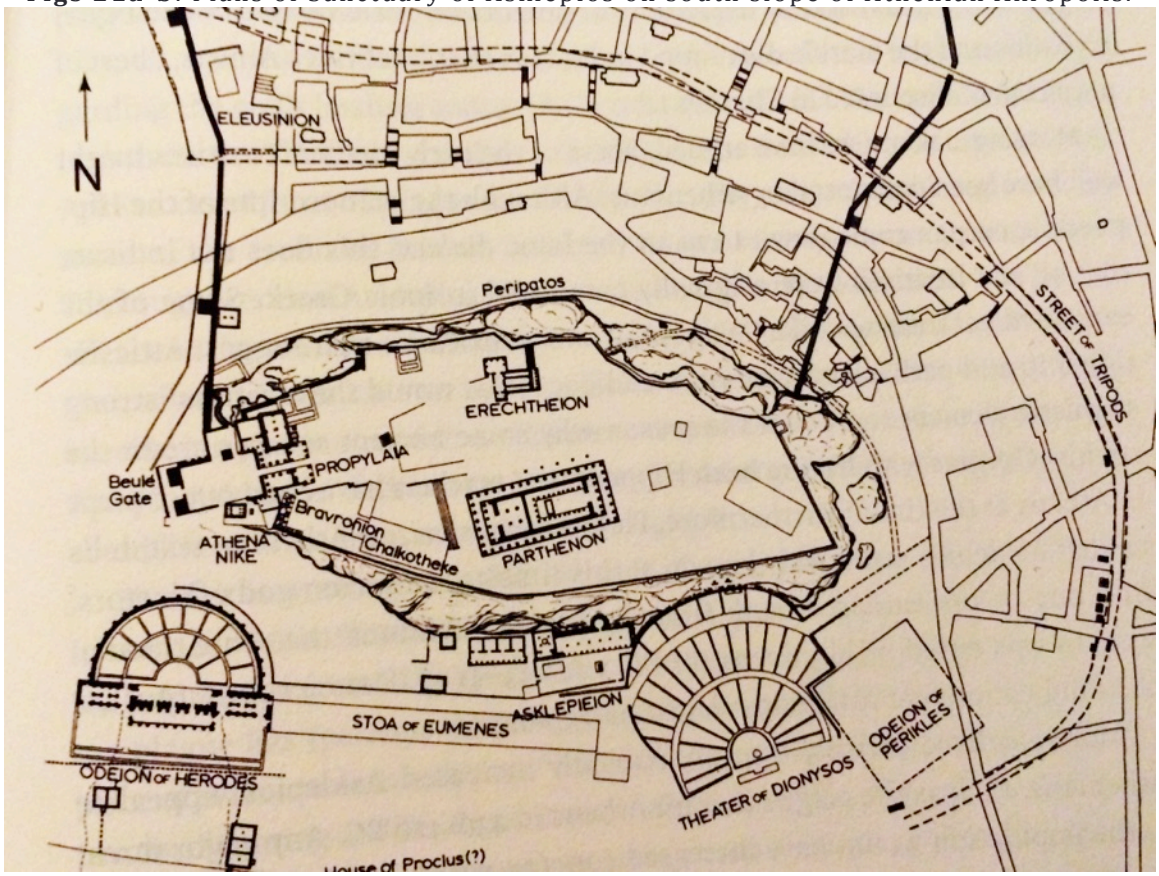


Fig. 18: Possible location for shrine of *Heros Iatros* in central Athens based upon architectural foundations and inscription findspots, near modern Vissis and Boreas Streets.

Fig. 19: Photographs of bronze, silver, and gold-plated votive *typoi* from Classical sanctuary of Demeter at Zone (fourth c.). Komotini Museum, Thrace.

Fig. 20: Anatomical eye votive dedicated to the *Heros Iatros*, from the Athenian Agora. Agora I 5968.

Figs 21a-b: Plans of Sanctuary of Asklepios on south slope of Athenian Akropolis.



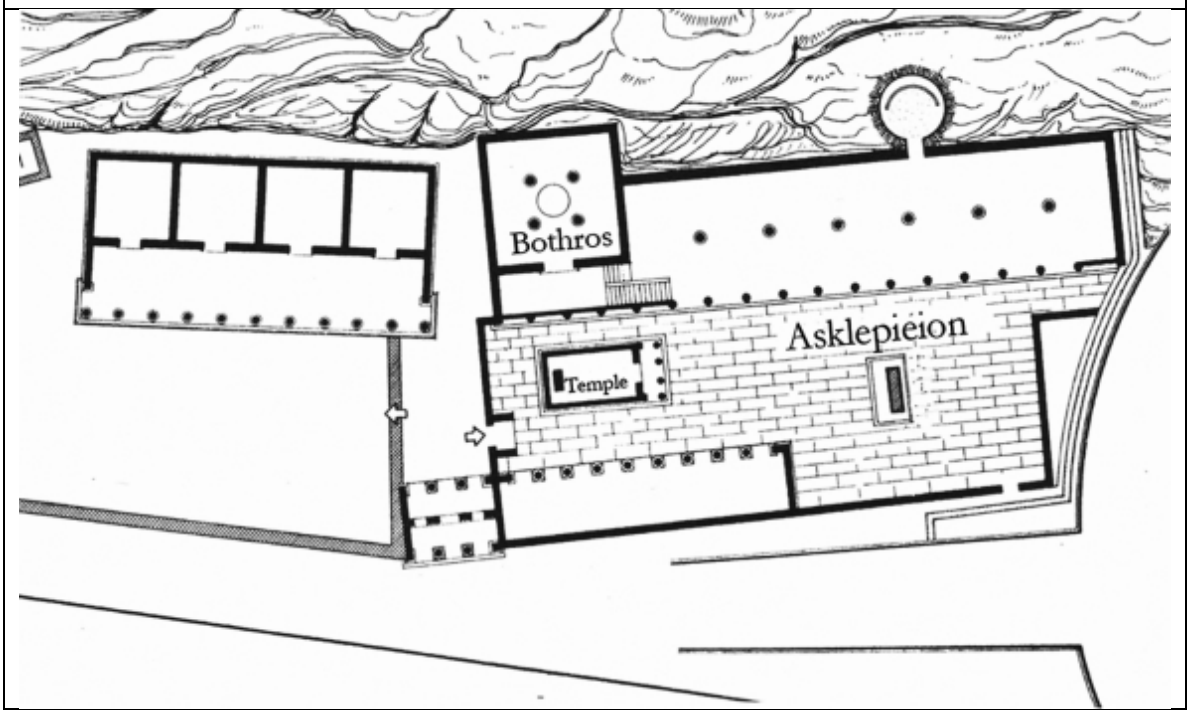


Fig. 22: Telemachos Monument, *IG* II² 4960-1. From Beschi 1967/8, Fig. 22.

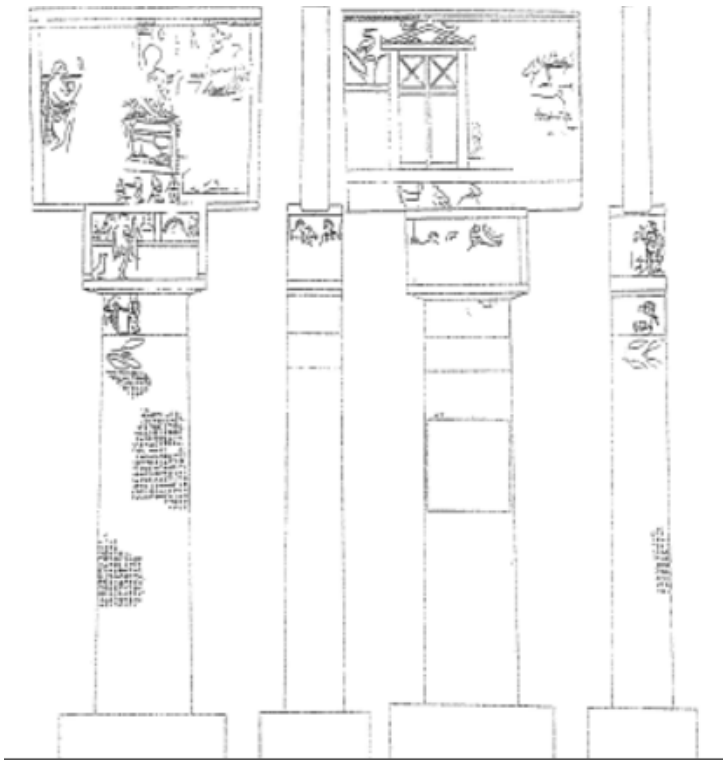


Fig. 23: Photograph of front-facing relief, Telemachos Monument (plaster copy), *IG* II² 4960-1.

Fig. 24: Map of Piraeus and Zea Asklepieion (at D3 with arrow). From Judeich 1905, Plan III.

Fig. 25: Hellenistic statue of Mounichian Asklepios, Athens NAM Inv. 258.

Fig. 26: Votive relief from Piraeus Asklepieion: ritual incubation, c.400-350 BCE. Piraeus Archaeological Museum Inv. 405. From Lamont 2015, permission from ΡΑΜ/ΚΣΤ' Εφορεία.

Fig. 27: Piraeus Asklepieion *lex sacra*, *IG* II² 4962, Sides A & B. Piraeus Archaeological Museum Inv. 1622. From Lamont 2015, permission from ΡΑΜ/ΚΣΤ' Εφορεία.

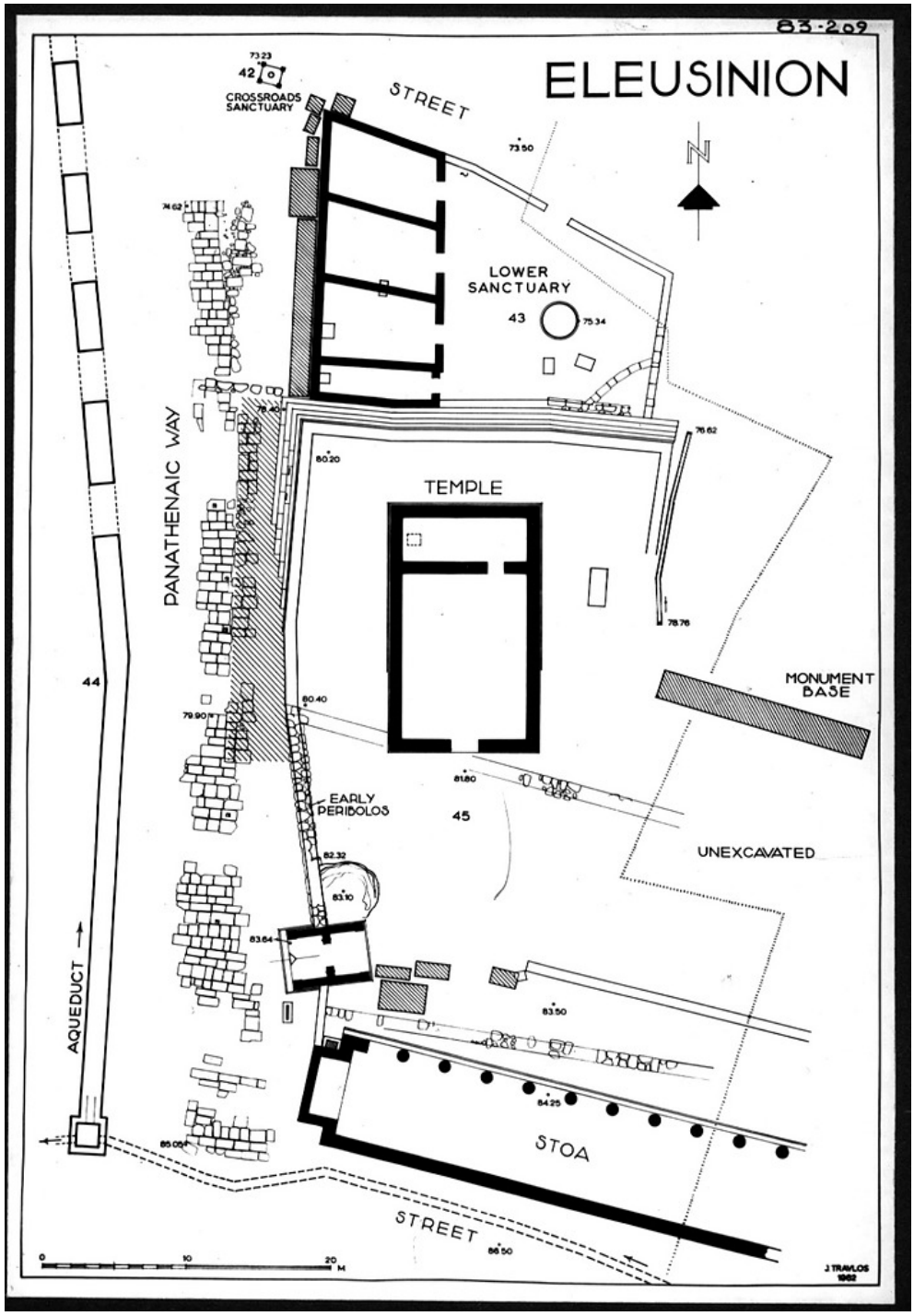


Fig. 28: Restored plan of the *astu* Eleusinion in Athenian Agora, scale 1:100. Drawing by Travlos 1962, from Agora XIV, p. 151, fig. 37.

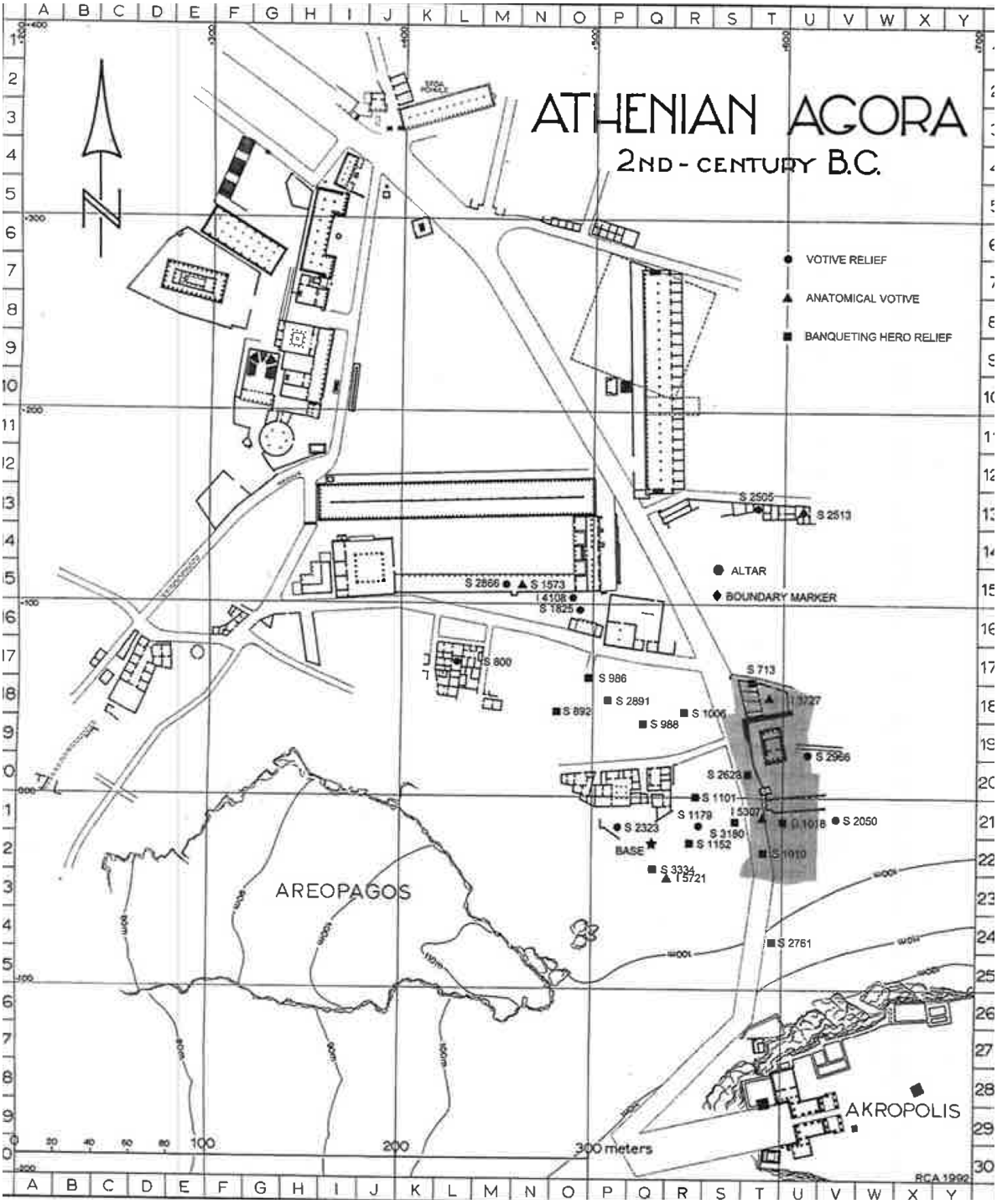


Fig. 29: Distribution of finds related to Asklepios in the vicinity of the city Eleusinion. Drawing by Richard Anderson and Craig Mauzy. Taken from Lawton 2015, p.28 (Fig.4.1).

Fig. 30: Votive relief with Asklepios, from the excavations of the Athenian Agora in the vicinity of the Eleusinion. Agora S 2050, c.420 BCE.

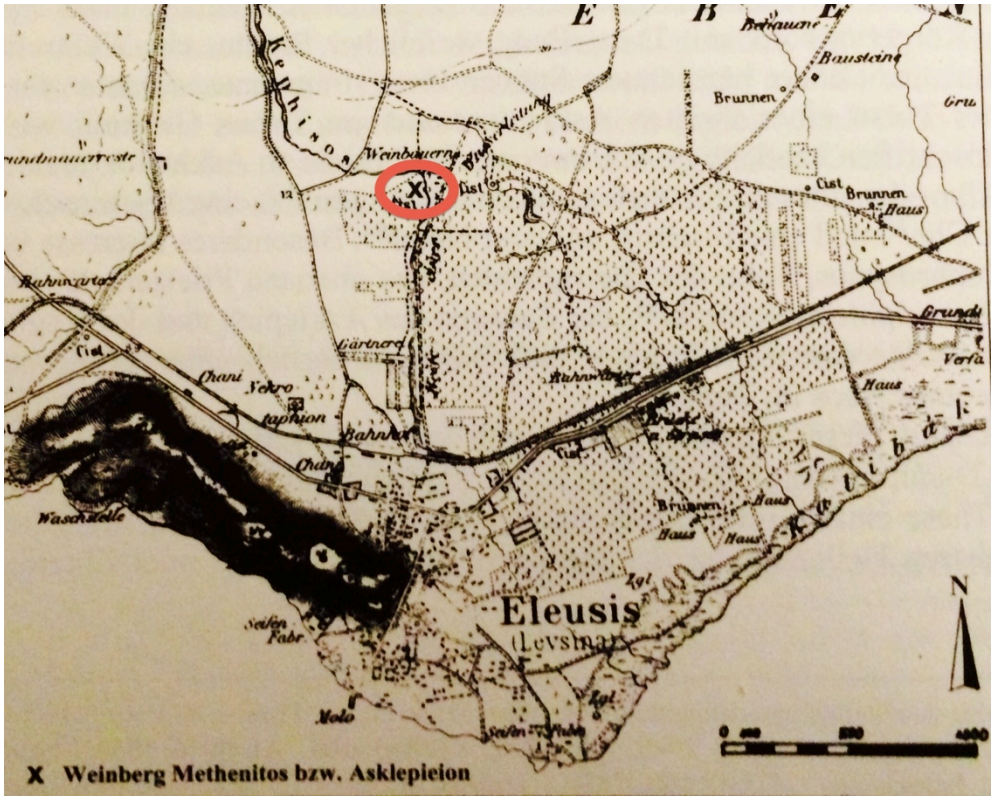


Fig. 31: Map of sanctuary of Asklepios at Eleusis. From Riethmüller 2005 vol. II, p.24 (Fig.59).

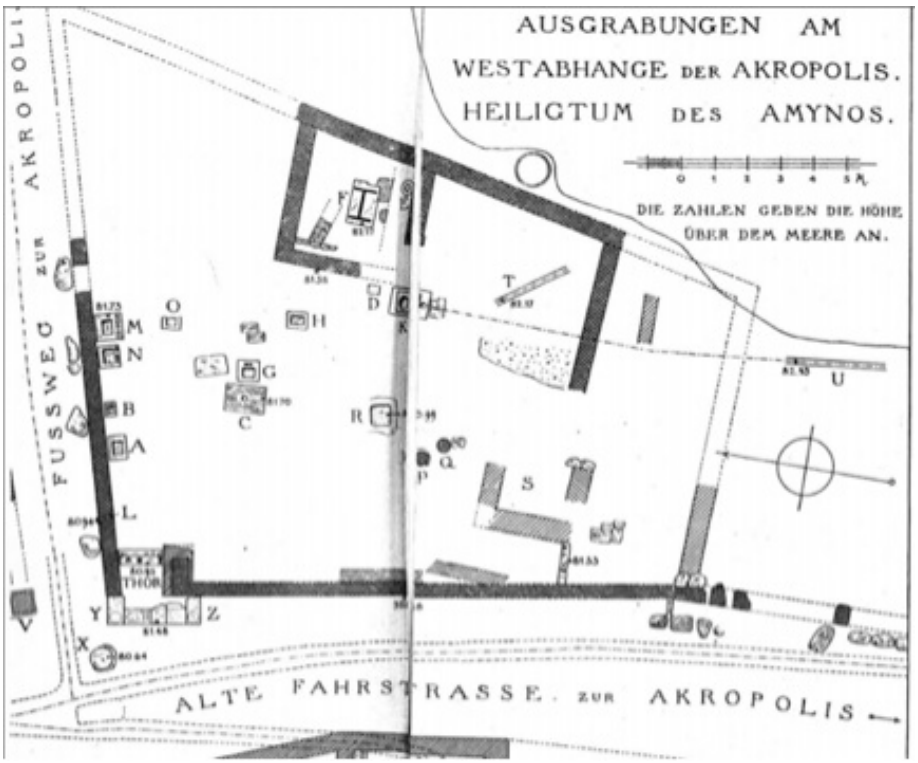


Fig. 32: Plan of Amyneion. From Körte 1896 (DAI).

Fig. 33: View of Amyneion. Agora Image 1997.18.0013 (Section ΔE 311).

Fig. 34: View of Amyneion (German Institute AB 47); photos from Athenian Agora. Agora Image 1997.16.0296: View of the Amyneion: a) Roman propylon; b) polygonal temenos wall; c) base for stele or dedication; d) lower part of a marble table; e) well opening in temenos; f) well in front of temenos; g) spot where three channels come together; h) Byzantine or Late Roman aqueduct of U clay sections.

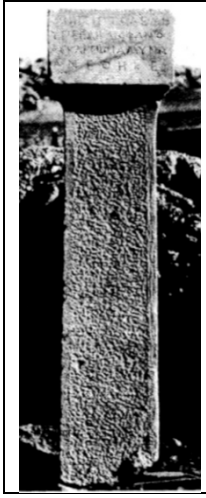


Fig. 35: Votive *stele* of Mnesiptoleme, Amyneion. *IG* II^2 4365.

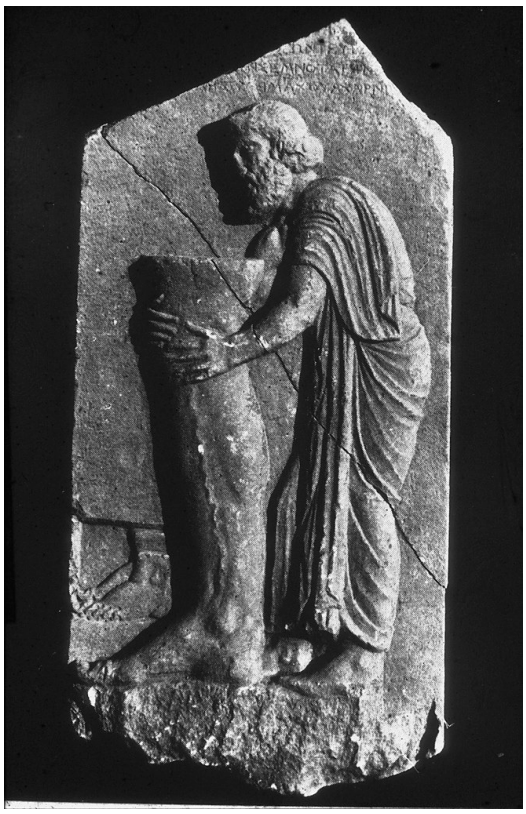


Fig. 36: Votive relief of Lysimachides the son of Lysimachos from Acharnai, from Amyneion, *IG* II² 4387.

Fig. 37: Anatomical votives and votive reliefs from Amyneion. Travlos 1971, p. 78.

Fig. 38: Plan of Amyneion, with arrows showing how the projected piping does not line up with the well. From Körte 1896 (DAI), with adaptations.

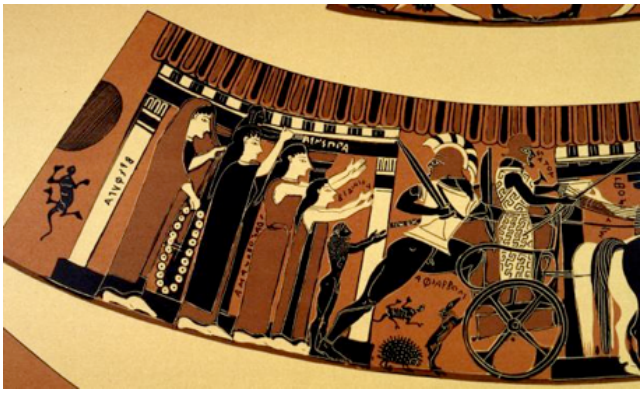


Fig. 39: Departure of Amphiaraos Korinthian Black Figure, c.570-60 BCE, Amphiaraos Painter. Berlin, now lost.

Fig. 40: Departure of Amphiaraos: Attic black-figure, c.550 BCE. Akropolis Museum Inv. 2112.

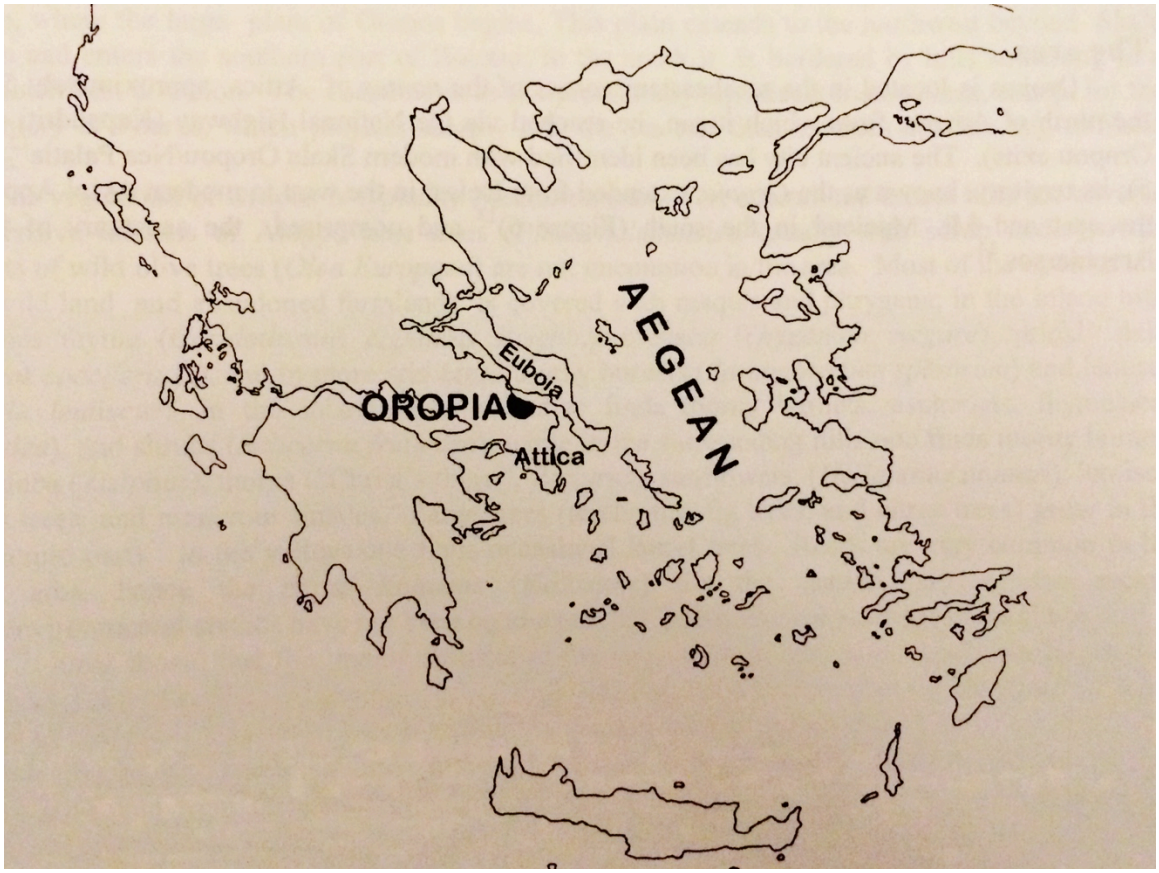


Fig. 41: Map of Oropos and Euboia. From Cosmopoulos 2001, p.5 fig. 4.

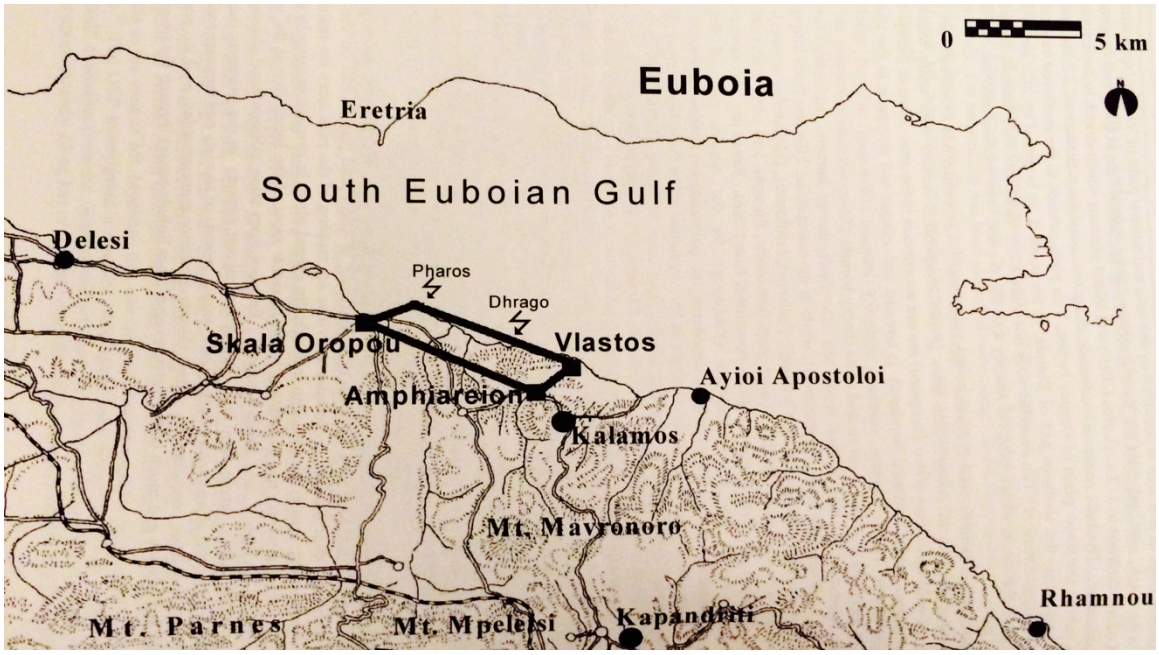


Fig. 42: Map of Oropos, main topographic features of northeast Attica. Area surveyed by Oropos Survey Project indicated by thick line. From Cosmopoulos 2001, p.8 fig. 6.

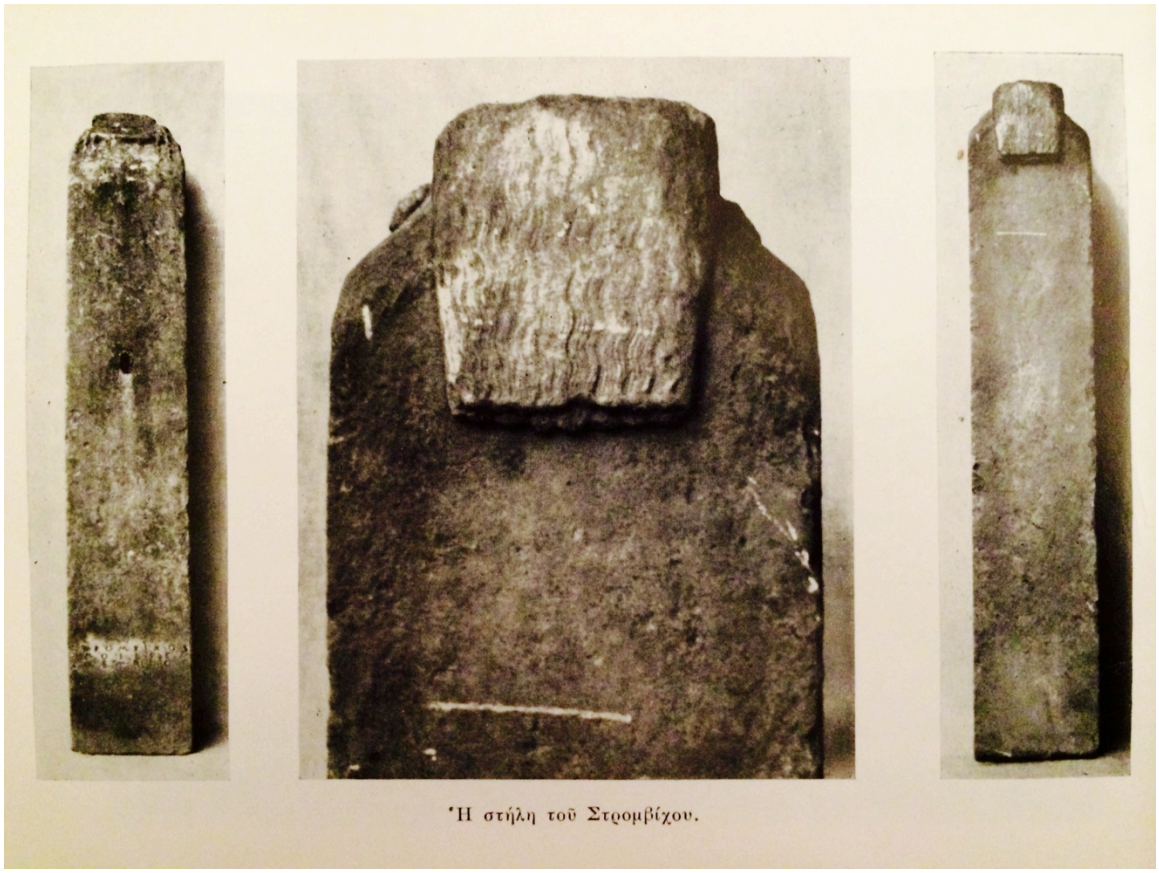


Fig. 43: Herm of Strombichos, found in theater. From Petrakos 1968, pl.37.

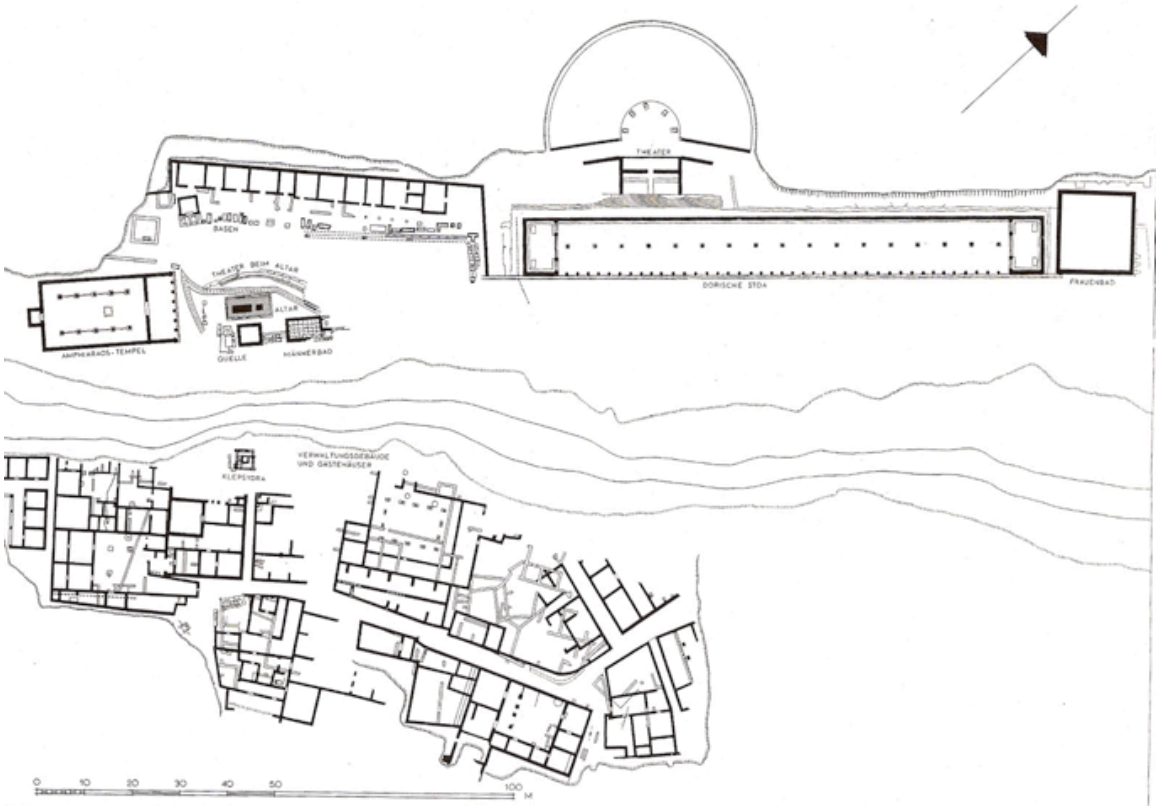


Fig. 44: Plan of Amphiareion at Oropos, from Petrakos 1968, pl. A.

Fig. 45: Stoa of Amphiareion, Oropos.

Ὁ μικρὸς ναὸς τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου ἀπὸ ΒΑ.

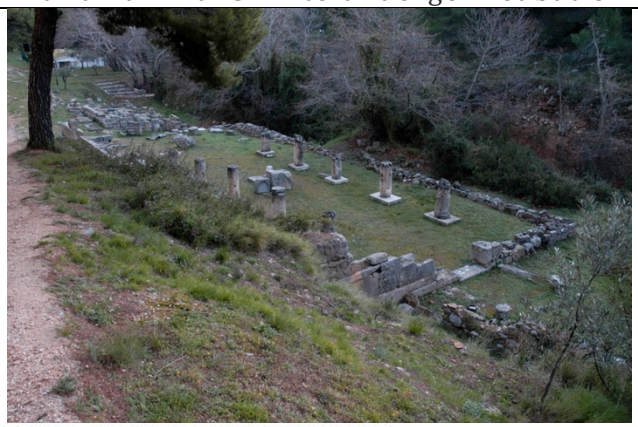
Fig. 46: Early small “temple” to Amphiaraos. Petrakos 1968 pl.15.

Fig. 47: Fragment of a fourth c. BCE votive relief from the Amphiareion, Oropos. Young woman reclines on a *kline* with an animal skin to undergo incubation. Petrakos 1968, pl.41.

Fig. 48: Fragment of a fourth c. BCE votive relief from Kalamos. Couple reclines on a *kline* with an animal skin to undergo incubation. *BCH* 124 (2000), p.782 fig.32.

Fig. 49: Archinos Relief from Amphiareion, Oropos. Petrakos 1968, p.40; Athens NAM 3369. Kaltsas 2002, pp.209-10, n.425.

Fig. 50: Fragment of an early fourth c. BCE votive relief from the Amphiareion at Rhamnous. A man reclines on a *kline* with an animal skin to undergo incubation. Athens NAM Inv. 1397.



Amphiaraion, Temple of Amphiareios

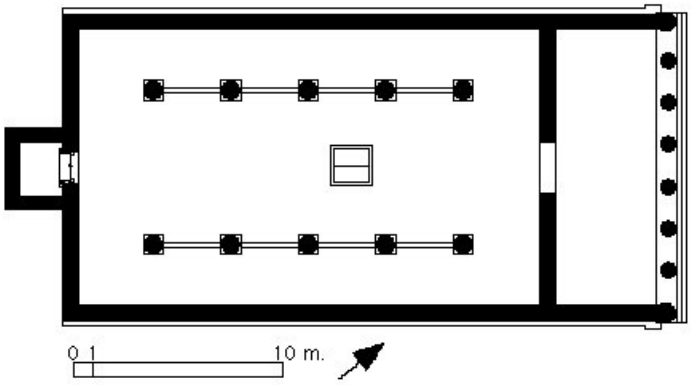


Fig. 51: Temple of Amphiaraos. Plan adapted from Petrakos 1968, pl.A.

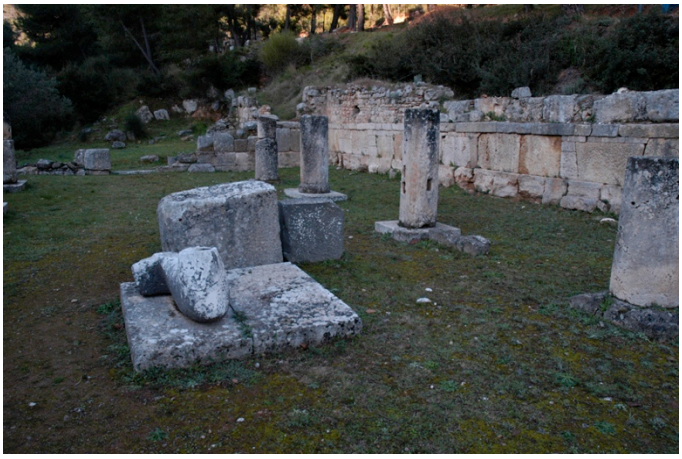
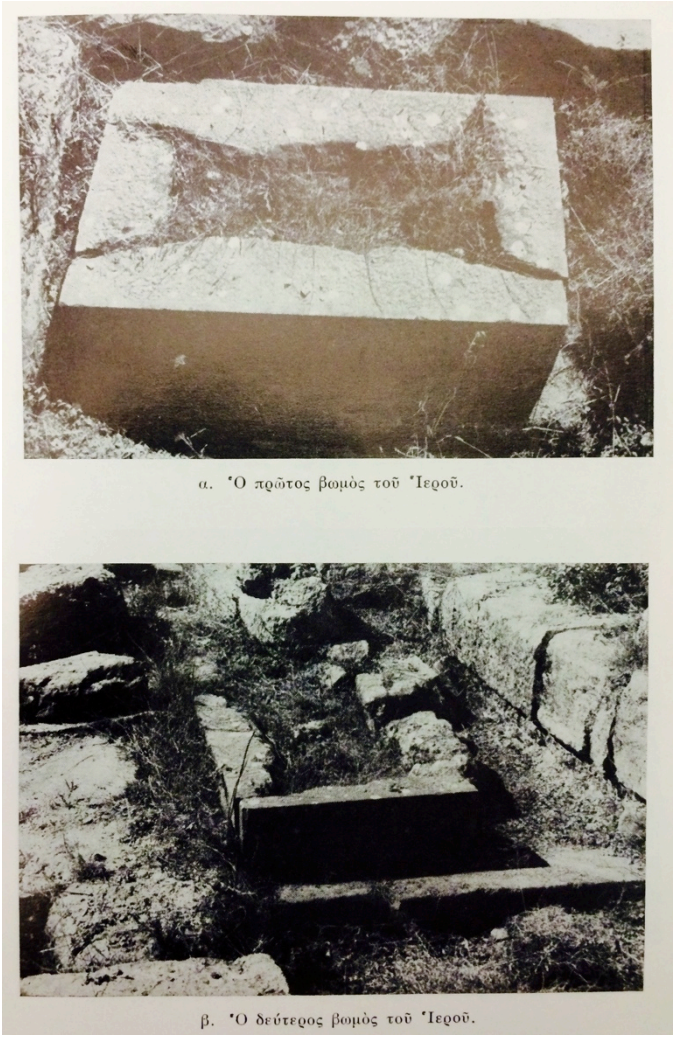


Fig. 52: Arm of acrolithic cult statue of Amphiaraos, found in temple. Petrakos 1968, pl.45.



α. Ὁ πρῶτος βωμὸς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ.

β. Ὁ δεύτερος βωμὸς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ.

Fig. 53: Fifth century BCE altars from Amphiareion, Oropos. From Petrakos 1968, pl.19.

Fig. 54: *Stele* of the altar: ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟ | ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΟ. Petrakos 1968, pl. 18.

Fig. 55: *Stele* of the altar: ΙΣΤΙΗΣ. Petrakos 1968, pl. 18.

ig. 56: Statue of Herakles from Amphiareion, Oropos. Amphiareion Inv. 2305. Petrakos 1968, pl. 33.

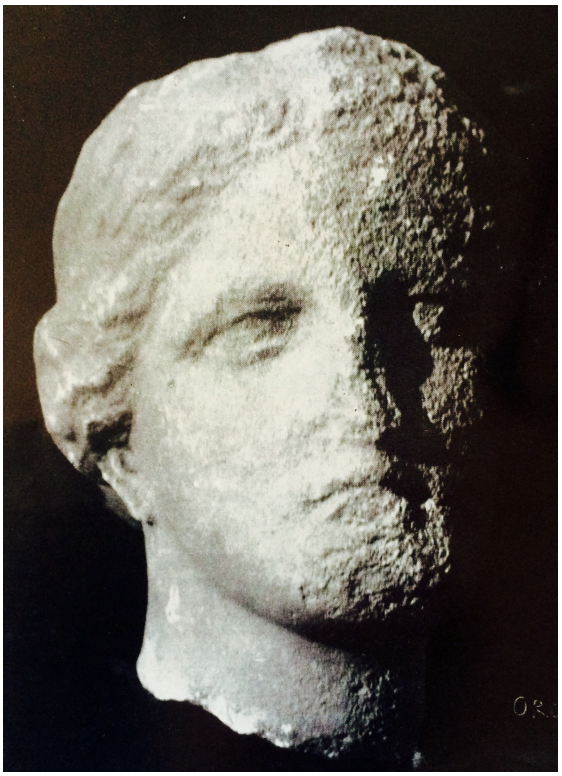


Fig. 57: Head of Hygieia statue from Amphiareion. Petrakos 1968, pl. 54.

β. Ἀνάγλυφον Ἀπόλλωνος κιθαριῳδοῦ.

Fig. 58: Votive relief to Apollo from mphiareion. Apollo holds a lyre and is framed by the *omphalos* and tripod.

β. Θραῦσμα ἀναγλύφου μὲ παράστασιν Νυμφῶν.

Fig. 59: Votive relief to Nymphs from Amphiareion, Oropos. Petrakos 1968, pl. 40.

Fig. 60: Votive relief to banqueting hero and consort from Amphiareion, Oropos. Family of worshippers approaches from the left. Petrakos 1968, pl. 42.

Fig. 61: Votive relief depicting Amphiaraos, seated Hygieia, and a horned Pan set behind a craggy line (which indicates a cave-like setting).

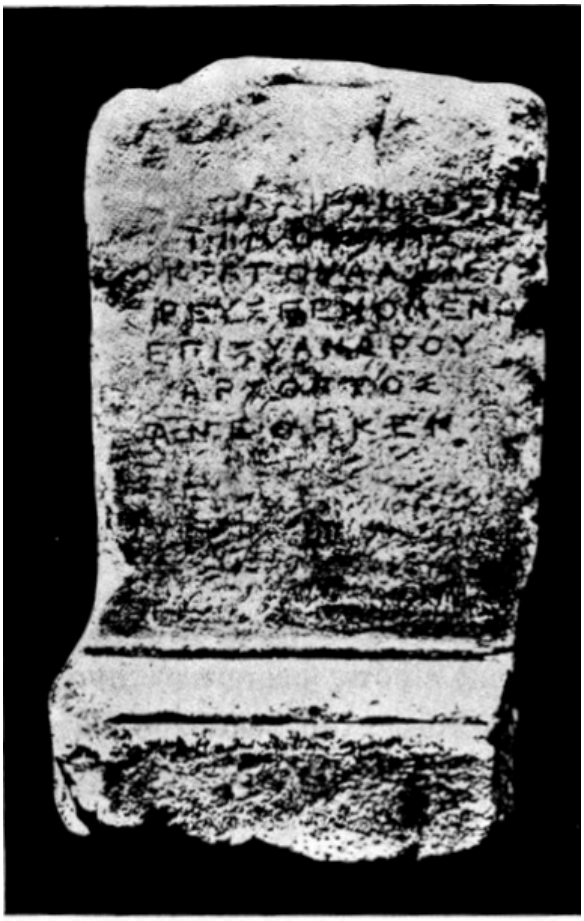
ε. Μολύβδινα εἰσιτήρια.

Fig. 62: Lead strips that Petrakos calls "tickets" from Amphiareion. Amphiaraos & Hygieia depicted together.

Fig. 63: *IG* II² 171, Honorary decree for Artikleides (Ἀμφιάραος Ἀρτικλείδης Ὑγίεια, *IG* II² 171.1), Athens NAM 1396, last quarter of fourth century.

Fig.64: Fragmentary votive relief depicting Hygieia, found together with Artikleides' honorary decree in Athenian Agora. Athens NAM 1383.

Fig. 65: *IG* II^2 4441, Altar to Amphiaraos and Hygieia ([Ἀμφι]αράωι καὶ Ὑγ[ι]είαι, l.1), dedicated by the priest Timokles (l.2,4), Athens EM 143.



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Biographical Statement

Jessica Laura Lamont was born on March 20th 1986, and grew up on the east end of Long Island, NY. She began learning Latin and playing sports in the seventh grade; she graduated Riverhead Senior High School as the Valedictorian in 2004. She completed her A.B. with a double major in Classics and Anthropology (Archaeology) at The College of William & Mary as a James Monroe Scholar in 2008 (*summa cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa). If this dissertation is deemed acceptable by March 22, 2016, she will graduate with a Ph.D. in Classics from The Johns Hopkins University, with a specialization in Classical Archaeology and Art.

Rooted in social history, her dissertation examines the rise of Attic healing cults during the late fifth century BCE ("Amphiaraos Into Attica: The Rise of Athenian Healing Cults"). Arguing that this healing cult "phenomenon" was something novel within the infrastructure of Greek religion, the project situates these cults amidst the sociopolitical crises of the Peloponnesian War, and alongside the developing corpus of Hippocratic medicine. Jessica is also interested in "magic" in antiquity—curse tablets, binding spells, voodoo dolls, and incantations—and recently finished a project on a new cache of Attic curse tablets (*editio princeps* and commentary). The project explores how magical texts and objects mingled with and changed the ways in which local communities were structured, and is especially concerned with the ritualized processes of producing magical items—the *chaîne opératoire* from raw material to charged magical object. The larger theme guiding this project and her dissertation is that of private or "personal" ritual practice, whether to intimately harm (curse tablets) or heal (incubation cults) individuals and households in Classical Athens. These projects developed between 2011-2013, when Jessica studied in Greece on fellowships from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the Alexander Onassis Foundation, and taught at College Year in Athens (CYA) as a Visiting Professor. To

date, her research has appeared in three refereed-publications, which have probably been read by as many as six individuals.

Jessica is also interested in networks of communication and trade, both within and across Mediterranean communities and landscapes. Over the summers she works as a field supervisor and fieldschool instructor at an ancient *emporion*, or trading port, on the Molyvoti Thrace Archaeological Project (MTAP), for which she will publish select small finds in 2017. Previously she has worked on excavations throughout Greece, including at Pylos-Iklaina, the Athenian Agora, and Korinth. She has also interned at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, the Paul & Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum in Athens, and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

Jessica has taught courses in Classical Civilization, Greek Art & Archaeology, and Greek History, in addition to several semesters of Ancient Greek and Latin at Johns Hopkins; teaching is a great joy to her, in both the field and classroom settings. She concludes by noting that has traveled north of the Arctic Circle and bungee-jumped the Korinthian canal, and at the age of 29 is now preparing for her first ever job interviews.